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National Anti-Slavery Standard

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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

PROPOSITIONS OF PEACE BEFORE THE REBEL CONGRESS.

[In the Rebel Congress, at Richmond, on the 27th ult., Mr. Foot of Tennessee offered the following resolutions, which were referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.]

THE people of the Confederate States of America having, in the progress of the pending war, most clearly demonstrated their ability to maintain by arms the claim to separate independence, which they have heretofore asserted before the world, and being inflexibly resolved never to relinquish the struggle in which they are engaged until the great object for which they have been contending shall have been finally accomplished; in view of the fact that a great political reaction in opposition to the bloody and unnatural war now in a course of prosecution, has displayed itself in several of the most populous and influential States of what was once honorably known as "The United States of America"; and, in view of the additional fact that, even among the avowed opponents of despotism, and the recognized friends of peace in the North, a grave and deplorable misapprehension has of late arisen in regard to the true condition of public sentiment in the South touching the question of reconstructing that political Union once existing under the protection of what is known as the Federal Constitution. Now, in order that no further misunderstanding of the kind referred to may hereafter prevail, and in order that the unchangeable determination of our government and people, in reference to the terms upon which alone they would bring the sanguinary struggle to a close, may be made known, the Congress of the Confederate States of America do resolve as follows:

1. There is no plan of reconstructing what was formerly known as the Federal Union, to which the people of the Confederate States will ever consent. Wrongs too grievous and multiplied have been committed upon us and upon our cherished rights, by a united North, since this unprovoked and most wicked war commenced; a majority of the people of the Northern States have too evidently shown themselves to be utterly incapable of self-government and unmindful of all the fundamental principles upon which alone republican institutions can be maintained. They have too long submitted patiently to the iron rule of the basest and most degraded despotism that the world has yet known; for too long a period of time they have openly and unblushingly sympathized with the lawless and ferocious miscreants who have been sent into the bosom of the unoffending South to spill the precious blood of our most valued citizens—to pollute and desecrate all that we hold in especial respect and veneration—to rob us of our property—to expel us from our homes, and wantonly to devastate our country—to allow even of the possibility of our ever again consenting to hold the least political connection with those who have so cruelly outraged our sensibilities and so profoundly dishonored themselves, and in association with whom we feel that we could not expect that freedom which we love, that self-respect which we are determined ever to cultivate, and the esteem and sympathy of civilized and Christian nations.

2. While the Confederate States of America are not at all responsible for the existing war, and have been at all times ready to participate in such arrangements as would be best suited to bring it to a close, in a manner consistent with their own safety and honor, they could not yield their consent to an *armistice* of a single day or hour, so long as the incendiary proclamation of the atrocious monster now bearing rule in Washington city shall remain unrevoked; nor could the government of said Confederate States agree to negotiate at all in regard to a suspension of hostilities, except upon the basis of a formal and unconditional recognition of their independence.

3. Whenever the friends of peace in the North shall grow strong enough to constrain Abraham Lincoln and his flagitious Cabinet to withdraw said proclamation, and propose an armistice upon the basis aforesaid, the government of the Confederate States will be ready to accede to said proposition of armistice with a view to the settlement of all existing difficulties.

4. Should peace be at any time brought about, the Confederate States of America would freely consent to the formation of a just and mutually advantageous commercial treaty with all the States now constituting the United States, *except New England—with whose people, and in whose ignoble love of gold and brutifying fanaticism, this disgraceful war has mainly originated; in consideration of which fact the people of the Confederate States of America are firmly and deliberately resolved to have no intercourse whatever hereafter, either direct or indirect, political, commercial or social, under any circumstances which could be possibly imagined to exist, with said States of New England or the people therein resident.*

5. The government of the Confederate States, *in consideration of the change in public sentiment which has occurred in several of the Northern States, wherein political elections have been recently held—sympathizing most kindly with those by whose manly exertions that change has been brought about*—would be willing to conclude a just and honorable peace with any one or more of said States who (renouncing all political connection with New England) may be found willing to stipulate for desisting at once from the further prosecution of the war against the South, and in such case the government of the Confederate States would be willing to enter into a league, offensive and defensive, with the States thus desisting, of a permanent and enduring character.

6. The government of the Confederate States is now willing, as it has heretofore repeatedly avowed itself to be, whenever the States bordering upon the Mississippi river, or any of them, shall have declared their inclination to withdraw from the further prosecution of the war upon the South (which, could it be successful, would only have the effect of destroying their own best market), to guarantee to them, in the most effectual and satisfactory manner, the peaceful and uninterrupted navigation of the said Mississippi river and its tributaries, and to open to them at once the markets of the South, greatly enhanced in value to them as they would be by the permanent exclusion of all articles of New England growth or manufacture.

7. The course of practical neutrality in regard to the pending war heretofore pursued by the States and Territories west of the Rocky Mountains, has afforded the highest gratification to the people of the Confederate States of America; and it is hoped that the day is not far distant when said States and Territories, consulting their own obvious safety and future welfare, will withdraw from all political connection with a government which has, heretofore, been a source of continual oppression to them; and when said States and Territories, asserting their separate independence, shall appropriate to themselves the manifold advantages sure to result from such a movement—among which may be reckoned—1st. Relief from grievous and exhausting tariff regulations now being rigidly enforced. 2d. Relief from all the discredit resulting inevitably from the prosecution of the present unjust and unauthorized war. 3d. Relief from the pressure of a despotism the most heartless and atrocious ever yet established. 4th. Relief from the crushing weight of taxation unavoidably growing out of the war. 5th. The exclusive use and enjoyment of all the rich mineral lands stretching along the slope of the Pacific. 6th. Free trade with all the nations of the earth, and a future maritime growth and power that has no parallel; and lastly, a monopoly of the trade of the Pacific Ocean.

8. Resolved, That the President be respectfully requested, if he shall approve these resolutions, to cause them to be promulgated and transmitted to the States of the North by such means as he shall deem most judicious; and that he accompany them if he shall think it advisable, with such an address or proclamation, expository of the matters embodied therein, as he shall judge most suitable and proper.

[On the day before he offered the above resolutions, Mr. Foote made a speech, in which he "ridiculed the idea of a Border Confederacy. He was not in favor of any political confederation with the States of the North-west. He had been misrepresented in this respect. He was in favor of a military league, offensive and defensive, with any one of the North-western States that would lay down her arms, and he would assist and protect such State against the power of the Lincoln government. *He thought that by proper influences and methods the North-west could be disjoined from New England and the Middle States in this war in less than sixty days.*" The "proper influences" relied upon are of course those which are employed by Cox, Vallandigham, Wood, Seymour and other Northern sympathizers with treason. Subsequently, in a speech on Jeff. Davis's retaliatory threats against officers of the Union armies, Mr. Foote said:]

One point he desired especially to notice. It could not but be apparent to every one how these measures of retaliation would result—the amount of bloodshed and terrible atrocities to which it would lead. *Therefore, he desired that a messenger or messengers should be sent to the Northern government, to propose terms of honorable peace—to let them know what was to be expected by a continuance of the war under present auspices. This would give heart to that great peace party which is now springing up at the North and daily increasing in strength, especially in the North-western States, where the people are already clamorous for peace.* And if the Lincoln government still persisted in their atrocious course, our action would show the world that upon that government rested all the future responsibility. It would show that if they persisted in this demoniacal and hellish warfare, we are not to blame. *He was sure, however, that these political uprisings in the States of Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, were of no little moment, and the results would presently appear.*

From The Atlanta (Ga.) Intelligencer, Jan. 20.

The resolutions introduced by Mr. Foote in Congress bearing upon a reconstruction of our government with the North-western States, we desire now solemnly to protest against, and we trust that they will be tabled by the Confederate Congress whenever they are taken up to be considered. We are fighting this war for Southern independence and for a government of Southern States, *recognizing African slavery as an insitution ordained of God, beneficial to mankind, a necessity in our social and political relations as States, and in our intercourse with all other nations or States. Hence the admission of any free States into our Union is not only repugnant to us, but it will be only a continuance of that evil which has brought on the war, and which to get rid of we are now fighting.* If the North-western States should shake off the North and East, and set up for themselves a new government, and desire to be at peace with the South, no barrier will be placed in their way by our government, and we shall be willing to treat with them as an independent government, in peace as friends, in war as foes.

TREASON AT THE NORTH.

[The N. Y. *Express* preaches disorganization and mutiny to our armies after this bold fashion:]

THE right of the American soldier to *think*, is an inborn right—and, when volunteering from being a citizen into being a soldier, he never loses his right to *think*. Hence, the bayonets on the Rappahannock are thinking, and will think—that President Lincoln in his Inaugural pledged himself to maintain the Constitution and the Union, and the rights of the States, and that in his proclamation he has not only broken his own pledges, but the Crittenden pledges of the House, and the Sherman pledges of the Senate, and that, therefore, *they, as soldiers, were enlisted under false pretences, and are held to service on broken pledges.* No courts-martial—no executions even—can drive this *thinking* out of an American soldier's head. He may be enslaved, as he is, to service he never agreed to—but the right to *think* against that enslavement is a God-given right, and if it be publicly suppressed, it will only the more rankle in private, and the more revenge itself in the end.

When the President in his January proclamation broke his solemn Inaugural pledges, equity would have demanded of him, that *he relieved the existing armies, and procured the voluntary enlistment of others upon his principle of the war, viz.*, Abolition. Daily, we are told, there are thousands and thousands of men that believe in this fighting to free negroes; and such men ought to be in the army, while those who volunteered for other purposes should be relieved.

* * * * * * *

When the proclamation put the war exclusively upon the Republican-Abolition track, the Republicans ought exclusively to be depended upon for success. * * * * The Democratic party is certainly no longer the friend of fighting under Lincoln's proclamation to free negroes. Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois are full of traitors, two to one of the Abolitionists, nearly, if this be treason! * * * * This is the feeling of three-fifths, if not of four-fifths, of the army—of privates more than of officers, even. The soldiers enlisted to fight for the Union *feel that they have been duped in being forced to fight to free negroes*, as to whom, the more they have connection with them, the more unfit they see they are for any sort of freedom. Hundreds of them do not hesitate to say: "We have been enlisted under false pretences, and are made to fight for Abolition, which we abhor."

YANCEY'S PORTRAIT OF THE NORTHERN DEMOCRACY.

[In his recent speech before the Legislature of Alabama, William L. Yancey made use of the following language in reference to the Northern Democracy:]

YET some venture to look to the Northern Democracy for deliverance! Surely, they must be few—the timid, wavering—a selfish few. There is, in my opinion, as much hope in the Northern Abolitionists as in the Northern Democracy. If Lincoln were to withdraw his proclamation of Emancipation to-morrow, and proclaim that he would uphold slavery as he finds it in the States, the Northern Democracy would rally around his standard, and war upon us to enforce a Union upon those terms—while the Abolition Congress would at once, in my opinion, put a stop to the war and make peace. There were a few who have been beguiled by the promises of the Democracy to hold out terms of peace while they march upon us in battle array. What are those terms as proclaimed by Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Bigler? They are these:

Proclaim an armistice if the South will agree during the armistice to elect members of Congress, who shall go to Washington, take the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, take their seats in Congress and pass propositions to amend the Constitution. These propositions must be passed by two-thirds of all the members of each House. They then have to be submitted to the Convention of the States, and if three-fourths agree, they become a part of the Constitution. If they fail to obtain three-fourths where would you be if you took this course? You will necessarily have abolished the government of the Confederate States, and have gone back into the old Union without a single guaranty, save the promise of a party that has possession of only one of the three branches of the government, and a bare majority only of that one branch!

Oh! what a name in history would ours be if such an event could happen by our consent! What a position of helpless degradation would ours be in that government of Abolitionists! What a crush of the proud spirit and hopes of this people! No! there is no hope even of an ameliorated conduct of the war from the Democracy. They have no power until December, 1863, and what may not happen within that period? When they go into power as a House of Representatives, they have only a check upon Abolition measures—the Senate and Executive being in the hands of the radical party. They cannot carry a single measure into execution. But they are pledged to aid Lincoln in a vigorous, constitutional prosecution of the war.

We have something to hope, however, from this division of the councils of our enemies—from their fierce party strife and jealousies. Upon this hope let us build our own unity—upon their jealousies let upbuild our own harmony—upon these clashings of party interests let us bind together our own patriotic energies—upon their selfishness and folly let us base a prayer to God that He would enable us to exhibit in behalf of our beloved country a self-sacrificing wisdom, both in opinion and action, in all matters appertaining to our defense.

THE REBELS TAKING COMFORT OF THEIR NORTHERN ALLIES.

From The Richmond Dispatch, Jan. 24.

THE signs from the North-West of the United States grow stronger. The speech of Mr. Merrick, in Chicago, published by us yesterday, is one of the boldest, as it is one of the most eloquent, outbursts of that long-trammelled but irrepressible hatred of Abolitionism and the Lincoln despotism which exists at the North in greater or less degree everywhere, but more especially in the North-Western States. In its plain dealing with the subject, and bold declarations relative to the commercial and political sympathies of those States, it is fully up to anything yet said by Vallandigham, if it does not indeed go a little ahead of him.

Mr. Merrick tells the Puritans what they are and what they have done, and he tells them his people have no sympathies with them, and if the Union must be permanently dissolved, they will not remain in alliance with them, to be made to bear the burdens of taxation to enrich the manufacturers of New England. He tells them that the sympathies of the Upper Mississippi inhabitants are with the South and not with them. To this plain talk to the Puritans he adds a great deal to the Washington despotism, such as that the heart of the people of the West is not in the war for subjugation; that subjugation of the South will destroy the Constitution and the liberties of the North; that Lincoln's proclamation of freedom to the slave is a gross violation of the Constitution, and must more than ever unite the South, which cannot be conquered by such means, but will the more assuredly and successfully resist them; that the South not only cannot be conquered in this way, but that if she could, she would not deserve to be free!

That such a speech should be delivered in public assemblage in Chicago, and receive the repeated and enthusiastic cheers of the audience—and that the speaker should neither be mobbed nor imprisoned in one of the Northern bastiles by order from Washington, is matter of surprise, and proves that a revolution has occurred in public opinion there, great in its magnitude, and powerful in its force. Were not Lincoln and his spies afraid, they would soon shut up Merrick in a dungeon where he would suffer all the horrors of the Northern prisoners.

We also placed before the reader yesterday an abstract of Mr. Vallandigham's last speech in the United States Congress. His programme for peace and restoration proposes a withdrawal of the Union troops from the Southern Confederacy as precedent to a treaty. It is somewhat gratifying that Mr. V., as a leader of the Northern peace party, should connect that measure with his plan. It is well that it should be started, and that the people there should begin to consider it as one indispensable precedent to the establishment of peace. To that complexion they will have at last to come.

That the jealousy of New England and the impatience of her tyranny is growing stronger daily in the great valley of the Upper Mississippi is plain. That it may become sufficiently deep and wide-spread to overwhelm New England and break up the Northern Union must be regarded as probable by all who have observed the course of events, and studied the commercial interests and relations of the North-West. The Pharaohs of the land of the Puritans will essay to bind the cords tighter upon their tribute-payers of the Upper Mississippi, and this will make them impatient of their bondage. Their unrelenting oppressors will continue their impositions until they rise and throw off the yoke, and set up for themselves, as Mr. Merrick says.

For us of the South, we must continue to administer the medicine we have with such success given for some time to the Northern hydra. It will soon lay out the monster—an event which promises infinite good to mankind.

Henry Ward Beecher, in one of his late speeches, undertakes to ridicule the threat of some of the Northern Democratic papers, that New England may be left by other Northern States out in the cold. He boasts that she will not stay out if she is put out, but will poke her long nose into any arrangement that may be formed for any such purpose. We have no doubt of the capacity of Yankee impudence, and so long as we can keep them out of our own borders, it is a matter of comparative indifference what other country has the benefit of their companionship. But it may be questioned whether the rest of the North, after the agency which New England has exerted in bringing about the division of the country, and her persistent purpose to make all the rest of mankind tributary to her own will and interests, have any intention of permitting such a root of bitterness to attain any further ascendancy in their councils.

The Puritan breed would not be contented in heaven itself, unless they could rule supreme. They never have been contented under any government, whether that of England, or of Holland (where they enjoyed entire religious liberty), or of the United States, till their policy and principles were permitted to become dominant. What that country has become under their influence, every country will become in which they are permitted to have sway, and the Democrats at least of the North appear to be aware of the fact. Already the name of Yankee is becoming almost as detestable in some portions of the North as in the South. A vast majority of the people of this continent would rejoice to see them left to vegetate upon their own barren rocks, the scorn and loathing of all civilized mankind.

Selections.

THE NEGRO IN THE WAR.

From The Springfield Republican.

THERE is a proposition before Congress to authorize the raising of 150,000 negro soldiers at the South. Better make the number half a million and include the North. The government may not get a hundred and fifty thousand, or even a hundred thousand, out of the three million who are declared free, but it should have the liberty to enrol all it can get, because the prospect is that it will need them all, and that if the war is to be prosecuted two years longer the negroes must be relied upon for a large share of the fighting. Congress need not hesitate on account of any popular prejudice against negro soldiers. It is much less than they think; indeed the people are generally willing the government should make the best use it can of the negroes. And it might have done so from the start, if instead of paltering and arguing, and frightening itself at its own shadow, it had adopted Gen. Butler's contraband doctrine and acted upon it. There would then have been no need of doubtful proclamations, and no division of the North on that question. But what is past cannot now be amended. Having adopted a policy at last, the government must push it boldly and at once, or go under. "In for a penny, in for a pound"; it has really nothing to lose now in this matter.

There can be no doubt that our armies are wasting away very rapidly. We number four-fifths of a million soldiers on the pay rolls, but well-informed authorities say that there are not over half a million men in actual service; that in fact the government is paying nearly if not quite as many men out of the army—in hospital or absent with and without leave—as in the army. It is estimated that to keep the army up to half a million we need 123,000 recruits annually. Where are we to get them? Besides, the term of the 300,000 nine months men expires in the Spring, and at least fifty regiments of two years men will march home before the first of June. Nearly one-half of our present army will be entitled to discharge before the 1st of July next; how are their places to be filled? That is a question Congress must determine now, or give up the war, for six months hence we shall certainly be outnumbered and driven back again by the enemy, unless within that time we can get 300,000 recruits from some quarter. It is true that great victories at the East and West, such as we have long hoped for, might obviate this necessity, in part at least; but our experience thus far does not warrant us in calculating with any confidence upon success. Congress must assume that the war will go on pretty much as it has, and provide men and means accordingly, or we shall be caught again next Spring in as bad a fix as we were last Spring.

The patriotism of the country is not clean gone. If our present armies shall achieve important successes during the Winter campaign a new call for volunteers will meet with some response. If things draw on as they have lately there will be no more volunteering, and we do not believe a draft can be enforced under such circumstances as must exist after three months more of blundering and slaughter. The promised enthusiasm over the Emancipation edict has not helped the matter in the slightest degree, and it has never been as difficult to enlist men, even in Massachusetts, as at this moment, notwithstanding the gushing rhetoric of our Governor. The obvious conclusion is that we must have the negroes in the war—as many of them as we can get—and as soon as possible.

Let Congress authorize the employment of half a million negro soldiers, taking not only the negroes freshly emancipated, but the free negroes of the North and South, and of the border slave States too. There are thousands of our Northern colored men who will make good soldiers without much drilling. Many of them are fitted by intelligence and character to become officers, and the Southern negroes should be led by men of their own race, as far as this is possible. The places we now hold in the South New Orleans, Hilton Head, Memphis—pretty soon, if affairs prosper, Charleston, Mobile and Vicksburg—should be made places of rendezvous for these negro armies; and if the business of enlisting and organizing them is entered upon at once, by the Summer we may have black armies capable not merely of garrison duty, according to the timid suggestion of the President, but of carrying on an active campaign through the hot season in the cotton and Gulf States, while the remnants of our white armies are concentrated for another effort to get to Richmond. Why not let the negroes fight if they will? Can the hunkerest of hunkers give a reason that will bear examination! Negroes fought well in our first revolution; negroes did good service in the war of 1812; certainly in this war they not only have a common interest with white Americans in crushing the rebellion, but still stronger motives in the prospect of freedom for their race on this continent—and under the ferocious war-policy of Jeff. Davis, if the negroes fight at all they will fight desperately, for it will be literally "victory or death" to them. "But they will not fight at all." Try them, and see. If they are not up to it, so much the worse for them; we lose nothing by it. If they fight well so much the better for us; we save so many white men; and the race that is to get the largest benefit from the war will help win its victories, as they should. The negro is in the war, for better or worse—irrevocably in—and there is now no course for the government but to make the most of him.

LITTLE DELAWARE.

IN sharp and gratifying contrast with the last message of pro-slavery Gov. Burton of Delaware, stands the inaugural speech of the new Governor, William Cannon, the exponent of the real sentiment of that brave little Border State. Chosen by a satisfactory majority, after an exceedingly well-contested canvass, Mr. Cannon recognizes and sets himself earnestly to uphold the loyalty which made him its standard-bearer. His address is full of honest, outspoken support of the right side in this infernal rebellion, and he pledges prompt and entire coöperation with the National government in every effort to restore the unity of the nation and the supremacy of the stars and stripes. He goes over the much debated ground of the assumed right of secession, as the result of State sovereignty, as understood by the slave Democracy, and satisfactorily exposes its fallacy. In this part of his speech he fully controverts the positions taken by his disloyal predecessor, and brings in an array of historical facts which pointedly expose the weakness of the ground on which State Rights arguments are based. After a manly tribute to the soldiers of his State, he speaks of the presence of soldiers at the polls at the late election, a fact which gave the former Governor so much annoyance. Gov. Cannon justifies the act as one of prudence, and declares that, should necessity arise in the future, he would not hesitate to invoke the aid of the General government to suppress domestic violence, whether at the polls or elsewhere. On the matter of arbitrary arrests he is of the opinion that no loyal citizen will grumble at mistakes by the government in such a time as this, and that the unpatriotic and disloyal have no right to complain under any circumstances. With the question of slavery and the negroes the Governor grapples boldly. He shows that it is decidedly for the interest of Delaware to choose the side of freedom. Her trade and commerce are with the North, and her prosperity is indissolubly linked with that of the free States. He takes high and unequivocal ground for emancipation, recommending the passage of a law for the gradual abolition of slavery, and brings to the support of this view some very strong arguments. And in closing his address, instead of whining about minority Presidents, illegal arrests, bastiles, and *habeas corpus*, he utters the following patriotic and manly sentiments:

"He who calculates that a nation can be involved in a struggle like this, and that no practical results will follow victory or defeat, has read history to little purpose. It would be as reasonable to expect a hurricane to pass through the forest without leaving the ground strewn with dead branches and sapless trunks, as that this tempest of civil war should sweep over the land and leave no memorial of its progress. The longer the contest is protracted, the more radical will be the change wrought. That it may be shortened should be the ardent supplication of every Christian; that it may end in the establishment of the integrity of the Union, the fervent prayer of every patriot. I invoke the God of our fathers, that God of concord who presided over their deliberations when they laid the foundation of the Republic, to incline the hearts of our Southern brethren to peace and submission to the legally-constituted rulers of the nation; but failing this, I pray that same God, who is also the God of battles, that he may grant victory upon victory to the Union arms, until every vestige of rebellion is swept from the land, and the flag of the United States—the symbol of her sovereignty—shall again wave, in undisputed supremacy, over a free, united, and prosperous people."—*Tribune.*

UNION ANTI-SLAVERY DEMONSTRATION IN NEW ORLEANS.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Times.

NEW ORLEANS, Jan. 14.

ONE of the most interesting assemblages I was ever present at, took place this evening, in the large lyceum, at the top of the City Hall building. It was on the occasion of Gov. Hamilton's being invited to address the Unionists of New Orleans on the great questions of the day.

Owing to the nature of the subject to be discussed, the locality in which the occurrence would take place, the very excited state of public feeling, and the well-known character and antecedents of the distinguished speaker, I confess I went to the meeting fully expecting to find it a boisterous one. Never was I more deceived. A more orderly, intelligent, respectable and thoughtful assemblage I never beheld in my life; and among the dense crowd I noticed a considerable proportion of ladies.

I do not intend to analyze the speech of Gov. Hamilton—of which I send you a full report elsewhere—beyond saying that it was marked by all that calm, logical and convincing reasoning for which the speaker is so remarkable. Forcible as his arguments were, they were introduced with exceeding tact and delicacy, and drew rapturous applause throughout.

But, oh! it would have stiffened the backbones of some of your Northern patriots, and brought a blush upon their doughy faces to have listened to some of the speakers who followed. Gray-headed old gentlemen—Southerners and slaveholders all—men with property in negroes ranging from $10,000 to $80,000 and upwards, stood upon that platform, and raising their aged hands, trembling with emotion as they pointed to the glorious banner above them, swore that before they would see that banner humbled, the inheritance of their fathers destroyed, and human liberty jeopardized, they would *see slavery perish forever!* One old gentleman said that he scorned to take refuge behind any exceptions that the President's proclamation might intend: that if freedom was granted to one, it should be granted to all. He then modestly informed us that he had, only a few days ago, called all his slaves together, told them of the great change contemplated, and given them all their unconditional freedom.

To me there was something intensely pathetic in all I saw and heard at this meeting. As I gazed upon the splendid, full-length portrait of Washington, forming the background to the platform, each venerable speaker seemed to me a living, connecting link with the first glorious era of American history. As I listened to their bold utterances—words that, a short time ago, would on that very spot have caused them to be torn to pieces—thought of all they had endured and were enduring—of their property ruined, friendships lost, affections rooted up, and all through pure devotion to their country, and principles—how immeasurably did their patriotism soar above that of some of those noisy, ranting, time-serving Northern politicians! I came away with one conviction deeply rooted in my mind: Whatever may be the result of this struggle, whatever new horrors may be in store for us all, so long as such sentiments could be listened to in New Orleans, and from such high sources—not only listened to, but vehemently applauded—*slavery is forever dead in the State of Louisiana!*

[Among the resolutions adopted by the meeting was the following, which was received with loud and long continued cheering.]

Resolved, That we are prepared to sustain the government of the Union in all measures adopted for the suppression of the rebellion, and that we fully approve the war measures set out in the proclamation of the President of Jan. 1, 1863, as one called for by the exigencies of the case, consummating at once an act of justice to one class, and inflicting at the same time on another class persisting in rebellion the blow best calculated to reduce them to obedience to the laws.

Jan. 16.—We had another grand Union demonstration here on Saturday night, in the St. Charles Theatre. Gen. Banks and Staff were there in a side box; also Gov. Shepley and Gen. Hamilton on the platform, but too indisposed to take any part in the proceedings, beyond a few apologetic remarks. I tell you it would take the wind out of the sails of some of those Northern politicians, who would see this Union wrecked that slavery may live, if they would only come here to listen to what rich *slave-owners* say about the Divine institution. Language more vehemently opposed to anything like a restoration of slavery upon its original basis—sentiments more bitter against those who would build up a Southern slave oligarchy upon the ruins of universal liberty, were never uttered by a Sumner or a Phillips before an audience at the Cooper Institute. I send you a copy of the resolutions unanimously passed, and which will speak for themselves. It was perfectly astounding to hear these utterances from men owning immense property in slaves, to mark the spirit in which they were received by an overflowing audience of intelligent ladies and gentlemen, and then to remember that this was in New Orleans! Let every true patriot mark these terrible signs, and seriously ponder whether he may not as well now try to hold Niagara in his palm or stop the dawn of day, as to check the resistless flood of human liberty now rushing on its destined course.

THE TRUE BRITISH FEELING.

LONDON, January 9, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR: I send you a copy of *The Saturday Review*, which contains an article on the Emancipation Society's address to the clergy. Do not, however, mistake this, or any similar ebullition, for an expression of the real opinion of the English people on the slavery question, or on the issues between the North and the South. The great meetings which have been held in London and various parts of the country, during the last six weeks, to express sympathy with the anti-slavery policy of the American government, indicate what is the true state of public feeling on this side of the Atlantic. We have endured the misrepresentations of certain organs of our press too long; and we have now determined to endure them no longer. But always remember, that from the beginning, the best of our journals have remained true to the anti-slavery cause; that *The Star, Daily News, Westminster Review, Spectator, Nonconformist, British Standard, Dial, Birmingham Post, Manchester Examiner, Newcastle Chronicle, Caledonian Mercury, Belfast Whig*, and a host of other representatives of the fourth estate, have never departed from the pure faith. The working classes also have proved to be sound to the core, whenever their opinion has been tested. Witness the noble demonstration of Manchester operatives the other day, when three thousand of these noble sons of labor (many of whom were actual sufferers from the cotton famine) adopted by acclamation an address to President Lincoln, sympathizing with his proclamation. A friend of mine who was present on the occasion tells me that the heartiness and enthusiasm of the working men were something glorious; that he heard them say to one another that they would rather remain unemployed for twenty years than get cotton from the South at the expense of the slave. Mr. Thompson has been in other parts of Lancashire lately, and the meetings he has addressed have been attended with the same results. Our experience in London has been equally satisfactory. It would have done you good, if you had heard Baptist Noel's speech, or attended the great meeting of the working classes which we held on the 31st of December—the eve of freedom. Newman Hall's speech on this occasion was one of the best I ever listened to. He stated, in the fairest manner, every conceivable argument which had been urged in favor of the slave Confederacy, or against the policy of the Federal government; and then replied to them *seriatim*, demolishing every sophistry and gibbeting every falsehood, until the slavocracy had really not a rag left wherewith to conceal the revolting defects of their odious cause.

The Emancipation Society includes, as you will have seen, some of the best men in the country, without distinction of sect or party. The name of John Stuart Mill—one of the greatest in England—stands at the head of the list. We are now arranging for a demonstration in Exeter Hall, to take place on the 29th inst. Our friends in Manchester and Birmingham are organizing branch societies in those important towns; and applications for meetings and deputations are pouring in from all quarters.

Our friend Mr. Webb, who is doing such good service in *The Advocate*, and in other ways more private but not less useful, tells me that Professor Cairnes's admirable work is about to pass into another edition. As a proof of how extensively it is read, I may say that I have made two unsuccessful attempts to obtain it from Mudie's circulating library (the greatest in the world), where there is a large number of copies. The answer on both occasions was, that every copy was in the hands of subscribers.

Mrs. Stowe's eloquent and beautiful address to the women of England is exciting great interest, and cannot fail to do much good. It was published by Sampson Low & Co. on Wednesday, in the form of a small volume; and it has since been reprinted *entire* in the columns of *The Morning Star* and *The Daily News*—a remarkable tribute to the popularity of Mrs. Stowe in this country, as well as a proof of the earnest interest which these journals take in the good work. It could not have appeared at a more favorable moment, for on Tuesday last *The Times*, with a maniacal folly, which is often linked with malignity, published an article pleading biblical sanction for slavery, and actually suggesting that it was perhaps a religious duty, on the part of the slave, to refuse his freedom, even if it were offered him! Nothing could be more calculated to stir up the religious sentiment of the country against the cause of which *The Times* has made itself the principal champion. This is another example of the manner in which the devil sometimes overreaches himself.

Very truly yours,
F. W. CHESSON.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

FACTS CONCERNING THE CONTRABANDS.

THE Emancipation League of Boston recently addressed a circular to the officers who have charge of the contrabands within our military lines at the South, making inquiries to the following effect:

1. The number of freedmen in each department.
2. Are they willing to work?
3. Do they desire to go North?
4. What are the facts as to their capacity and desire to learn?

There were several other queries, relating to the religious element of the negro character, the feeling towards the masters, and the manner of treatment by subordinate officers of the government, but these were not so material as the first four. The persons to whom this circular was addressed were also requested to make such comments and offer such suggestions as their experience might dictate, and the result is a series of replies from nine different sources, all valuable as official records of the actual condition of the freedmen at the beginning of this year. Below we give the leading points of the more important of these documents.

Capt. E. W. Hooper, aid-de-camp to Gen. Saxton, writes from Beaufort, S. C., under date of January 6, that the number of contrabands in the Department of the South is estimated at about eighteen thousand. Of these, twelve thousand are in South Carolina, and six thousand at Key West, Fernandina and other points in Florida. Capt. Hooper says that these negroes, almost without exception, would readily become industrious and productive laborers under any liberal system which should offer a fair and reasonably certain compensation proportioned to the work actually done. They are not addicted to profanity or intemperance. Except in rare instances, there is no disposition among them to go North; as long as life can be made tolerable to them in the South, they prefer to stay in their own homes. The desire to learn is almost universal, and their quickness is remarkable. Nearly all the able-bodied men and women have been employed by the government or its officers during the last eight months. Common laborers receive five dollars a months, besides a soldier's ration. Mechanics are paid $8 to $12 a month besides the ration. Delay in payment, however, is often caused by the negligence of subordinate officers. Capt. Hooper's conclusions are summed up as follows:

"In my judgment, equal laws faithfully administered would enable the negroes to take their place in society, as a laboring class, with a fair prospect of self-support and progress. Until society at the South is reconstructed, and a healthy demand for agricultural labor becomes possible, perhaps some such system of training and guardianship as is now in practice here is necessary, or at least desirable."

At Fortress Monroe and the neighboring camps there are some thousands of contrabands, but as that military department covers several Counties of Virginia, no accurate return of the number can be given. At Old Point Comfort there are about nine hundred men, women and children; at Camp Hamilton and Hampton there are seventeen hundred and forty, of whom five hundred and two are men. C. B. Wilder, the agent in charge of these people, reports that very few of them have any earnings to save; but few drink, and "very few are willing to go North except for safety." Their religious element is marked and strong; there is no instance of a desire to wreak vengeance upon the masters. Two thousand are employed by the government, but their pay is irregular, and there are arrears amounting to $30,000. "I have never seen a class of men more willing to work," says Mr. Wilder, "if any inducement is offered; and this is the universal testimony of the employers." Yet he adds that their treatment by the officers of the government, "as a rule, has been brutal and cruel in the extreme; what they need is what they have long been promised, but never had—protection from the abuses of rebel sympathizers, and reasonable encouragement and opportunity to get a living."

O. Brown reports from Craney Island (Hampton Roads) that there are at that depot thirteen hundred and eighty-one negroes, of whom only two hundred are men. They are all willing to work. One hundred of the men are getting wood and assisting in the construction of the barracks, and fifty others are engaged in catching oysters for the use of the island. The government pays them nothing, but many have saved from fifty to a hundred dollars during the past year, while they had an opportunity of working for themselves. They do not desire to go North; even house servants decline the offer of good wages and permanent homes, from their partiality for the Southern climate. Mr. Brown favors the scheme of colonization for these people.

Chaplain Sawyer reports that the number at Helena, Ark., is four thousand, of whom eighteen hundred are men. One thousand are employed by the government, but $20,000 back pay is due them. Mr. Sawyer says these contrabands compare very favorably with the "poor whites" of the South, of whom he has had many opportunities of judging.

Chaplains Fitch and Forman make a report from the Arkansas district substantially the same as that of Mr. Sawyer, but fix the amount of back pay due the contrabands by the government at $50,000.

D. B. Nichols, Superintendent of the Contraband Department, reports that three thousand three hundred and eighty-one contrabands have passed through that camp within the last six months. Five hundred remain. Out of the whole number, Mr. Nichols says, "I have not been able to persuade more than fifteen or twenty to go North, notwithstanding the most liberal offers have been made to them." He adds: "They desire to remain on the soil where they were born, if they can do so and enjoy their freedom."

This is the general tone of the answers sent to the League. The sum of the whole case is very cleverly put by the Boston *Commonwealth*, from which we derive these statements, when it says in reply to the question, "What is to be done with the negroes?"—"Treat them like members of the human family, and deal justly with them, as you would with any other class of people, and they will take care of themselves."

COMMON SENSE.

WHEN the war broke out, the Abolitionists said to the General government, in their petitions and speeches, "There is but one honorable and safe way out of this impending struggle; that is, *universal emancipation under the war power*. Justice is always safe, injustice ever perilous. Choose ye wisely at first." Then the government answered through its President, Mr. Lincoln, and its premier, Mr. Seward, saying, "This rebellion has nothing to do with slavery; it must be put down constitutionally"; and the premier, who is fond of prophesying, added, "In sixty or ninety days, peace will be restored."

"You make a fearful mistake," returned the Abolitionists; "this is the veritable 'irrepressible conflict' which you predicted—the death-grapple between the systems of darkness and light—not a petty revolt of States. To ignore the primal cause is insanity. Comprehend the true issue, and strike while there is yet time."

Of course, these warnings were unheeded. When were powers and principalities ever yet ready to listen to the unpopular and the despised? Judea scouted the humble carpenters and fishermen who spoke saving words; the North said to the Abolitionists, "Birds of ill-omen, cease your croakings; cannot twenty million of people whip ten, without touching the confounded nigger?"

We are almost at the close of our second year of civil war. One noble army has vanished—where? Another is melting away rapidly as the snow in Spring-time. Two hundred thousand loyal men, who, twenty months ago, were animate with life, vigorous, enthusiastic, now sleep the sleep of death. By the rivers of Kentucky and on the green plains of Missouri, their bones lie bleaching in the sun New England blood makes Virginia soil truly sacred. The graveyards of the Carolinas and Louisiana are peopled with these victims of slavery. How many Northern homes are mourning for the young, the beautiful, the brave, who will never return!

It has been a costly twenty months; costly in human life, in treasure, and in suffering. "Not painlessly does God recast and mould anew a nation." But the fires of civil war have cleared away much dross, and we stand nearer the divine mark. Step by step, the government has mounted to a truer position. Though it struggled never so hard to avoid advancing, an irresistible force impelled it onward. The wisdom of the Abolitionists is justified by events. Judge between them and the government which was the eagle, and which the mole—whose was the far-seeing and comprehensive view, and whose the narrow and circumscribed vision.

On the opening of this new year—day ever memorable in the annals of humanity for the new birth of a race—the government of the United States cut itself loose forever from the policy of slavery. The edict of Emancipation marks a new era in our history. Henceforth, freedom is to dictate a new policy. The deed is done—the step cannot be retraced—the government is fully committed. It has burned its ships behind it, and its only course is onward.

A month has passed since the proclamation, and the people who looked eagerly for immediate results see nothing. Unreasoning ones, losing patience, exclaim, "Surely, it is nothing but a harmless thunderbolt, after all—a Pope's bull against the comet." Wait! There is a reason. Suppose a sick man, who has submitted for a long time to the treatment of a certain school of medicine, becomes convinced that he is getting worse, and resolves to try a different system. Does he retain his old physician, whose prejudices are all in favor of the treatment he has been using, and ask him to administer the new medicines? Never? He dismisses him, and calls in a doctor of the new school. Common sense—that is all.

When Butler conquered New Orleans, and the editors of the city papers professed loyalty, did he trust them? No. He knew their treason was masked, not quenched, and that they never would manufacture Union sentiment. So he sent them packing, and put in editors who meant Union. Common sense again.

This is the analogy. The President is surrounded by counsellors, chosen before he had an anti-slavery purpose. His armies are led by pro-slavery Generals, appointed when he meant to restore the Union with slavery. They accept the proclamation, but do not believe in it. Is it possible the new order can be made effective with executives who are indifferent, and even hostile? It is fatuity to think so. They will only clog the wheels. Mr. Lincoln accepts the anti-slavery policy. Common sense indicates that he also accept as counsellors and Generals anti-slavery men. The Abolitionists have made slavery a life-study. None so fit to advise as they. There are anti-slavery Generals whose hearts thank God for the proclamation. They were shelved for anti-slavery earnestness when pro-slavery tenderness to rebels was the rule. Common sense points them out as the true leaders now. Let the owls and bats of the Cabinet and army retire with the darkness, and usher in the eagles with the new-born light. With Sumner at the President's right hand, with Fremont as Commander-in-Chief, and with absolute justice for our emblem, we may yet be saved.—W. L. G., JR.—*Liberator.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1863.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

SUBSCRIBERS to THE STANDARD in Pennsylvania will please remit their dues without delay to J. M. MCKIM, Anti-Slavery Office, 106 North-Tenth st., Phil. Subscribers living in that city will confer a favor by not waiting as heretofore to be called upon by a collector.

THE PROSPECTS OF TREASON.

THE reaction against the war, or rather in favor of the rebels, has fairly set in. It was as sure to come as that time should endure to this day. The only thing to wonder at is that it did not come a year ago. Like all reactions it is noisy, impudent and blustering, and hopes to prevail rather by the moral weakness of true men than by its own intrinsic strength. It has this great advantage, that it knows exactly what it wants, just as the rebels do, and, like them, they are wise in their generation as to the means to be used and utterly unscrupulous in the use of them. For one class of minds they have mobs, revolvers and bowie-knives, all ready for use. In Pennsylvania this method has been triumphant and promises to be so in Illinois. That it did not succeed equally well in this State is owing, perhaps, rather to want of pluck in the Governor to second the designs of the Viceroy over him—his creator, Mr. Fernando Wood—than to any actual strength of the better sort. But we will not pronounce certainly on this point. Since the Ship of State has tided it over the hidden rocks that threatened her with wreck, we are willing to believe it was through her strength rather than her luck, and because of the trustworthiness of the crew rather than of the timorous treachery of the pilot. For yet another class of minds the horrors of the Bastilles into which harmless citizens, guilty only of treason and deserving no worse punishment than death, were put for a brief time to keep them out of the way of meriting their doom yet more deeply. The innocent victims were only conspiring the death of their country, and too much indignation could not be expended on the President who had put them under lock and key by virtue of martial law, when by the dexterous sinuosities of civil process they would have escaped scot-free!

Another bait laid for the sillier sort of gudgeons—and, especially, those of the Republican variety—is the new Martyrology by which saints receive their canonization by virtue of their sufferings rather than their works. Proved incompetency is the prime material necessary for the manufacture of an idol of the newly patented description. To have had every opportunity to serve his country and to have grossly failed in all, with the certainty of want of ability and the suspicion of want of inclination, is the highest claim to the admiration of the newly awakened school of patriotism. The censure of his superiors is the sure passport to its admiration for any General. It is a distinct intimation to the Generals in the field that the favor of this noisy class is not to be gained by victories, but by defeats. We see that Boston has run mad over Gen. McClellan, the leaders in the frenzy being Republicans and well-meaning men. And to such a height has their adulation gone, that they have really left nothing for the greater claims of Gen. Fitz John Porter when his turn comes. It is affirmed that that city was only saved from the ridicule of inviting him to receive visitors in Faneuil Hall by the remonstrances of one of the most eminent public men of Massachusetts, himself one of the General's friends, but whose knowledge of affairs made him sensible of the impropriety of such an attention to an officer in his position. Thus our own city government will not have a rival in the compliment offered to ex-Gen. Porter, which they have launched at him, unmindful of the constitutional prohibition of cruel and unusual punishments. To be cashiered by Court-Martial was bad enough; but to be approved by our Aldermen is a refinement of torture which even the very greatest criminals should be spared.

All these demonstrations have but one purpose, though many of those joining in them are blinded to the fact, and that is, to weaken the hands of the government and to strengthen those of the enemy. Their primary purpose is to bring the war to an end by such submissions to the rebels as shall make them content to return and undertake again the overseership of the National plantation. Failing of this, they then design to divide and distract the counsels of the Nation in such a way as to secure the Independence of the Confederacy, before slavery has received its death-wound. What is the reasonable prospect of their succeeding in their treason? We think that their chance is but small, provided the loyal men, those who love the Union more than they hate the black man, are but aware of the conspiracy and alive to counteract and defeat it. We should remember that there is no more treason now at the North than there was eighteen months ago. The only difference is that wherever it was then skulking in holes and corners, hiding its head or dressing itself out in loyal hypocrisies, it is now blatant and rampant. On the fifteenth day of April, Fernando Wood and his gang, everywhere over the land, were as secure of carrying the Northern cities, and compelling the rural districts to follow them, in their treasonable sympathy with the rebels as they are now, and with more reason. During months before, while State after State was seceding, the pro-slavery venom was never more virulent, bursting forth in mobs wherever there was opportunity, and, even in Boston, seeking the life of Wendell Phillips for Sunday after Sunday in broad noon-day. But what a change had come over them on the Seventeenth! An overt act of treason had been committed, which made all honest men, everywhere, start to their feet, and the bellowing traitors disappeared like ghosts at cock-crow. We believe that any actual demonstration, any incarnation of treason into act, would unite the nation as it was done by the firing on Sumter, and that it would fare harder with the traitors by much than at that earlier day. We think we see signs of this in the deep disapprobation, booming up from his own partisans, which made Gov. Seymour shrink from his attack on the Metropolitan Police, and caused Fernando Wood to withdraw his bravoes from Albany.

Then, again, we see grounds of hope in the recognized necessity of calling in the aid of black Unionists for the salvation of the Nation. What we have seen and proclaimed from the beginning is now seen and acknowledged of all men who do not prefer the preservation of slavery to that of their country. It is not yet too late, though near it, to save the Republic in its integrity and to make it a Republic worth saving, at the same time. If it be true that Gen. Butler is to be sent back again to New Orleans with arms for a black army, and if the policy of the proclamation be entrusted only to loyal Generals to carry it out, we think that the heart of the rebellion can be reached. And that this is to be done, we infer from the patent fact of its being the only thing we have to depend upon. Whoever opposes it, in the Cabinet or out of it, is a convicted traitor. But should this last resort fail of the success it deserves, and should the rebels have strength enough, from within or from without, to compel us to come to terms with them, we have little fear of the worst disgrace and extremest calamity which our domestic traitors are devising for us. The rebels knew, when they broke up the Democratic party as a preliminary to secession, that they could have had any concession that they can now have, if they would only unite on Douglas. There was no humiliation of the North, no sacrifices of our dearest rights that the Democrats—to say nothing of too many Republicans—were not prepared to make to purchase peace. It is not likely they will consent to come back on the terms they know they might have had only at the price of staying where they were. They seceded from us because they hated us; and it is not probable that they love us any better now than then. They hated us because of our agitation of the slavery question, and they know that this war will not have quieted *that*. They hate us for our prosperity and wealth, which they believe they can transfer to themselves, if they can but cut loose from us. They have no question of the sincerity of their "unpaid guerillas," as Mr. Sumner aptly termed them, in this city and in Boston. But they believe it is because these men long to be again sucking the life-blood of their veins, on which they sincerely believe those cities have grown fat. It is possible that they may hate these retainers of theirs a little less than they do their open enemies, but they must, in the nature of things, despise them in proportion. They will never come back except on the compulsion of conquest.

But the defeat of these plots of privy conspiracy and treason will not execute itself. Honest men must be alive to the necessities of the hour and ready to put down traitors at home as well as rebels in the field. It is a time above all others when all who hate slavery, and who feel it to be their duty to see that it does no farther detriment to the Republic, should be alert and active in the various spheres of action which they have chosen. We rejoice to learn that the old pioneer Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society assembled in larger numbers and in a more determined spirit than in common years, and seemed fully to feel that their day of labor was not over as long as a slave remained on the soil. At the Anti-Slavery Reunion held the night before, too, for the purpose of raising funds for the American Society, the attendance was larger, the contributions more liberal than in any former year. We have reason to believe, therefore, that a good fight will be maintained by all the Anti-Slavery hosts, in all their various divisions, until they can lay down their arms as the reward of a crowning victory.

THE PROCLAMATION IN ENGLAND.

VISIT OF A COMMITTEE OF THE LONDON EMANCIPATION SOCIETY TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER.

ON Thursday, Jan. 10th, a Deputation from the Executive Committee of the British Emancipation Society waited upon the Hon. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, the American Minister, at his residence in Portland Place, for the purpose of presenting him with a resolution, agreed upon at a special meeting of the Committee, approving President Lincoln's Proclamation.

Among the gentlemen composing the deputation were the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, M.A., Mr. P. A. Taylor, M.P., Mr. Benjamin Scott, F.R.S.A., Chamberlain of London; Rev. Newman Hall, LL.B., Rev. R. Everest, Rev. J. H. Rylance, Mr. W. Evans (Chairman of the Emancipation Society), etc., etc.

Mr. EVANS appropriately introduced the Deputation, after which Mr. Chesson read the resolution, as follows:

> That this Committee, constituted without respect to political party or social distinctions, for the development of British anti-slavery feeling, has learned with profound satisfaction the issue, on the 1st of January, of President Lincoln's Proclamation, declaring the freedom of all persons held as slaves in the States, or parts of States, in rebellion against the United States government. That the President's injunction to the persons declared free to abstain from violence, except in self-defence, and to accept reasonable terms of hired service, with the offer of military employment under the United States government, is an effectual rebuke to the imputation that servile war was contemplated by the proclamation, or that the liberated negro would be left to starvation and to crime. That this Committee recognizes in the limitation of that declaration of freedom to the districts so described no indifference on the part of the President and his Cabinet to the injustice and evil of slavery in other districts of the Union, but an act of submission to the Constitution and of faithful regard to their official oaths. That this Committee also connects with this Proclamation of Freedom, under the authority of martial law, the offer of compensation to loyal slaveholders for the loss of their slaves and that great scheme of Emancipation submitted to Congress in the message of December 1, 1862, as an amendment to the Constitution. That these acts, taken together, and with them other measures tending to the freedom and equality of the subject race, inspire this Committee with hearty confidence in the anti-slavery purposes of the United States government. That this Committee therefore offers to President Lincoln and his ministers, through their representative in this country, its warmest congratulations upon the auspicious aspect they have given to this new year, and joins with the President in invoking for these acts of freedom, justice, and mercy, "the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

Mr. TAYLOR, M.P., expressed the great pleasure he felt at the course the American government had lately taken in regard to slavery. That course would greatly enlighten the people of this country, many of whom had been misled as to the origin and results of the war. Slavery had been one of the causes which had sown dissensions between the two countries. He therefore believed that the proclamation would not only tend to the entire abolition of slavery and the continuance of the Union, but that it would greatly conduce to a lasting peace between England and America (hear).

The Hon. and Rev. BAPTIST NOEL said he cordially approved Mr. Lincoln's policy. He had observed Mr. Lincoln's honest intention to maintain the Constitution on the one hand, and to do what the Constitution allowed on the other, for the liberation of the slave. The President had used the war power which had been put into his hands, and he (Mr. Noel) hoped that under God's blessing it might be the means of bringing the rebellion to a close. In abstaining from taking the same course in the border loyal States he recognized the President's submission to the Constitution. But he (Mr. Noel) hoped and trusted the loyal States would accept the liberal offer which the government had made, and that, before long, America would be free from the stain of slavery (applause).

The Rev. NEWMAN HALL said the opinion of this country on the American struggle had been greatly misrepresented. The leading newspapers, which were supposed to represent public opinion, really did not represent the feelings of the masses. Many of the upper and middle classes had been misled on the question, but the working classes had not. No meetings had been called in support of slavery, while the meetings that had been held against it had been of the most triumphant character. All the opposition that had been attempted had been an utter failure. He would just give one illustration of the inconsistency of those who misrepresented public opinion. In *The Times* of the day before there had been a leading article, in the first paragraph of which the President had been condemned, on the high ground of philanthropy, for not issuing the proclamation, while in the next paragraph he had been condemned for what he had done on the ground that he had invaded the Constitution. Now, when one paragraph in a leading journal contradicted another, he did not think there was much danger that the great body of the people would fall into error on the question (hear).

Mr. JACOB BRIGHT said he concurred in what had already been said. In Lancashire, where they should find opposition to the continuance of the war, if they were to find it anywhere, the working classes were almost unanimously in favor of the North. He had seen the question tested in Rochdale and many other places, and in these places he had seen a strong, warm and earnest feeling in favor of emancipation displayed (approbation).

MR. ADAMS'S REPLY.

Mr. ADAMS then replied in the following terms:

GENTLEMEN: I receive this expression of the sentiments of so respectable a body with great pleasure and great satisfaction. I need not say how encouraging such manifestations will be to those persons in my country represented by the President of the United States, who have been driven into the necessity of maintaining such a painful struggle as has been carried on by them in America in devotion to great principles of public law and public order. I am very much encouraged by the circumstance that there is growing here, and in Europe generally, a better conception than has heretofore prevailed of the principles involved in the struggle. The election of Mr. Lincoln was a great declaration of the majority of the people of the United States in favor of the principle of human freedom. The signification of it was that the persons then elected to places of responsibility should be so far imbued with that principle as that, while they carried on the government in the spirit of freedom, they should at the same time avoid the necessity of struggle of physical force. It was the conviction on the part of the opponents of that policy that the result would be as certain by that process, though perhaps much slower, that drove them into the desperate measure of stopping it at the threshold by violence. The consequence was that the government was attacked at its very foundations. The struggle to preserve it has been going on from that time to this. If, therefore, there has been what might otherwise be thought extraordinary haste and precipitate energy in any of the measures which have been taken by the government, it has not been owing so much to any will of their own, as to the fact that the violence of the resistance has caused the necessity for them. I think the idea which it is desirable to present distinctly is this—that the struggle has been one of self-defence against the aggressive system that was threatening destruction to the whole edifice of government as it stood, for the reason that it was too favorable to freedom. And with regard to this proclamation, the desire on the part of the President of the United States has been, as I conscientiously believe, not to hasten the measure of emancipation any faster than popular sentiment in the slave States would demand, nor any faster than the emergency should dictate, or, in other words, simply so to act as to prevent those very convulsions which war is too apt to precipitate. Therefore, in all matters incidental to the maintenance of his policy, regard has been steadily had to the possible avoidance of those dangers of servile war which necessarily must have been forseen by all thoughtful persons during the contest. Therefore, while always keeping in view the ultimate consequences of this most remarkable, and, I may say, unprecedented struggle, I trust that the great results which we all hope to arrive at will be eventually reached, not, perhaps, immediately, not, perhaps, to-day or to-morrow, or the next day, but ultimately, by a steady perseverance in one course, which may force the consent of all parties, and yet avert the fearful consequences which we might naturally apprehend. I am extremely gratified in the assurances which have been given by several gentlemen with respect to the state of popular feeling in England on this subject. I have myself had occasion to notice the fact that, although some of the exponents of the public sentiment have appeared to be at times exceedingly harsh upon the United States, yet that when opportunity offered for an appeal to the people themselves the sentiment has uniformly responded to the policy which the United States government have enunciated. I am, therefore, encouraged to hope that the clouds which have hitherto gathered, and at times somewhat portentously, over the amicable relations of the two countries have now more and more the appearance of vanishing from the sky. I feel sanguine that the expression of sympathy from here, which I have been lately the medium of repeatedly communicating to my countrymen, will have the effect of clearing away many impressions that may have been received by reading the attacks of hostile journals, and taking them too much as the true expression of the sentiment of the people. I think, by understanding distinctly—which they will now have the opportunity of doing—that the policy of Great Britain is not retrograde on the subject of slavery, wherever it may yet exist, and that it is true to the former pledges it so nobly gave to the world of its devotion to the principle of human freedom—the growing conviction of that fact will have the effect in America of restoring those amicable relations and reviving those warm sentiments which ought to be entertained between the two kindred people at all times. Gentlemen, I shall not longer detain you. I will just say that I shall have pleasure in communicating to my government a knowledge of the sentiments which have been expressed here by you to-day.

The deputation then thanked his Excellency for the courtesy with which he had received them, and withdrew.

WENDELL PHILLIPS IN BROOKLYN.—We have space only for a brief mention of Mr. Phillips's lecture in Brooklyn on Tuesday evening last. The house was packed full, long before the appointed hour, and hundreds went away unable to get within the walls. A few moments before 8 o'clock, the choir of Plymouth Church, under the direction of Mr. John Zundel, sang Theodore Tilton's "Battle Song." Mr. Phillips, on ascending the platform, was greeted by enthusiastic cheers. Mr. Tilton, in introducing him, said: "I have been requested by the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher to say that it was his intention to be upon the platform this evening to introduce his friend. But he has been debarred that privilege by engagements, partially caused by the demise of his lamented father. Under such circumstances, he has delegated me to welcome his friend to the platform of Plymouth Church, and introduce him to his audience; and in doing so, I feel sure that there is no frequenter of Plymouth Church, or other friend of the broadest humanity, who will not welcome to the freest of free speech, Wendell Phillips."

Of Mr. Phillips's speech we can only say that it was worthy of the cause and of his own fame. He criticised the Administration in a patriotic and loyal spirit, doing justice alike to principles and to men, and counselled the people to be more earnest and vigilant than ever for the salvation of the country. The speech is reported in the daily papers, but we obey the wish of Mr. P. in waiting for him to revise it for our columns.

When Mr. Phillips had concluded, Mr. Tilton arose and said:

"Is it your pleasure to send a message to the President of the United States?"

Many voices—"Yes! Yes!" Then

> Resolved, That 3,000 men and women of Brooklyn say to Abraham Lincoln: "Sir, wherever you see a black man, give him a gun, and tell him to save the Republic!"

"Will you vote that resolution?" (VOICES—"Yes," "Yes," "Amen.") All in favor will say "Aye" (many ayes).

He then said: "Let any man who says No, write himself a traitor and go home" (applause).

The choir then sang Miss Proctor's John Brown hymn, and the audience retired.

THE SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.—The Twenty-ninth Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary was held in Music Hall, Boston, on Wednesday evening, Jan. 29th, a Boston paper says:

> "Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, there was, as usual, a large attendance of the friends of the cause. As was the case last year the rear of the platform was decorated with portaits of the leading anti-slavery men of the city, as well as with a large painting of John Brown, and above these were busts of well-known friends of the Society, as also Bracket's bust of Brown. The banners, which are coeval with the Anti-Slavery Society, were hung around the galleries.
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> "EDMUND QUINCY, Esq., by request of the lady managers, acted as presiding officer, and made a brief address of congratulation on their behalf. The entertainment consisted of select readings, very well rendered, by Mrs. De Mortie, addresses by Rev. M. D. Conway, William Wells Brown and William Lloyd Garrison, and excellent music by a small orchestra.
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> "In the course of the evening an intermission was had for conversation, promenade, and the receipt of subscriptions, and a handsome sum was received at the tables of the managers."

A private letter says: "The Subscription Anniversary exceeded all our anticipations." As the subscriptions are not yet closed, however, we do not name the sum they have reached, but request those who have not made their contributions to do so at once, addressing Rev. Samuel May, Jr., 221 Washington street, Boston—or, if more convenient, Oliver Johnson, Anti-Slavery Office, New York.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Thirtieth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held at the Music Hall in Boston, on Thursday, Jan. 29th, 1863.

EDMUND QUINCY, President, called the meeting to order at 10½ o'clock.

Rev. WM. G. BABCOCK, of Scituate, offered prayer.

The Treasurer of the Society, EDMUND JACKSON, Esq., presented his Annual Report, duly certified by WM. I. BOWDITCH, Esq., the Auditor. It showed receipts for the year of $2,388 91; expenditures, $2,381 95. Balance in the treasury, $6 96.

The Report was accepted.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., from the Committee of Arrangements, presented the following lists of Committees, etc.:

Committee on Business—William Lloyd Garrison, Theodore D. Weld, Wendell Phillips, John H. Stephenson, Parker Pillsbury, Charles L. Remond, Andrew T. Foss, Stephen S. Foster, Henry C. Wright, George W. Stacy, Wm. Wells Brown, Sarah J. Nowell, Elizabeth B. Chase.

Committee to Nominate Officers for the ensuing Year—Bourne Spooner, Plymouth; William Ashby, Newburyport; Samuel May, Jr., Leicester; Josiah Hayward, Salem; John Clement, Townsend; Samuel Dyer, Abington; Samuel Barrett, Concord; Jonathan Buffum, Lynn; Elias Richards, Weymouth; Alvan Howes, Barnstable; Mary Willey, Boston.

Committee on Finance—James N. Buffum, Lynn; E. D. Draper, Hopedale; Lewis Ford, West Brookfield; Joseph Merrill, Danvers; Reuben H. Ober, Boston.

Assistant Secretaries—Samuel May, Jr.; Wendell P. Garrison.

After some amendments, by addition of names, the Committees and Secretaries above-named were unanimously elected.

Mr. May, in behalf of the Committee of Arrangements, made a statement with regard to the holding of this Annual Meeting but a single day.

Letters were read from A. M. POWELL, of Ghent, N. Y., and Hon. SAMUEL GALE, of Montreal; the latter having been addressed to Mrs. Child, in behalf of the Ladies' Subscription Anniversary.

ANDREW T. FOSS, of Manchester, N. H., gave an interesting account of his recent lecturing tour in the State of Maine, and its encouraging results. He had found the pulpits and churches of different denominations very cordially opened to him, had spoken twice in the State House at Augusta to large audiences, receiving the public thanks of the same, and, best of all, had found nine-tenths of the people strongly in favor of the Emancipation policy of the President.

EDWIN THOMPSON, of Walpole, spoke earnestly and stirringly upon the prospects of the country, and of the Anti-Slavery cause. He adduced many instances of conversion to right principles, some of them public and conspicuous, as fully supporting the view he took of affairs.

Mr. GARRISON reported the following resolutions from the Business Committee:

> Whereas (to quote the language of John Quincy Adams), "military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and slavery among the rest; that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the Commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves; and that from the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, civil, servile or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery, in every way in which it can be interfered with"; and,
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> Whereas, the slaveholding section of the Union has for the last two years been in open rebellion against the Federal government, and is still waging malignant and bloody war, under the leadership of an impious slave oligarchy, for the avowed purpose of crushing free institutions, and making slavery the corner-stone of an independent confederacy; therefore,
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> 1. Resolved, That slavery being the source and sole cause of the rebellion, and the rebellion being for the sole purpose of perpetuating slavery, from the hour that hostile shots compelled the capitulation of Fort Sumter, it became not only the martial prerogative but the constitutional duty of the President to decree the total abolition of slavery in every slave State, in order to stop a frightful effusion of blood, prevent the needless sacrifice of an immense number of lives, bring the rebellion to a speedy termination, and thus place the unity of the republic upon an indissoluble basis.
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> 2. Resolved, That in delaying to strike an annihilating blow at slavery, and treating it as something too sacred even for the strong arm of military power to touch, and in endeavoring to conciliate and win back to their allegiance the rebellious slave-traffickers of the South, by an assurance of the prompt enforcement of the old pro-slavery guarantees by the Federal government, the President and his Cabinet showed themselves, for the time being, to be given over to judicial blindness and perilous infatuation, and allowed the strength of the entire slave population to be actively and unceasingly wielded in support of the rebellion, and to the discomfiture of the Federal forces.
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> 3. Resolved, That while deploring a procrastination so fraught with danger, suffering and guilt, we nevertheless rejoice, "with joy unspeakable," that at last the President was constrained, on the 1st day of January, 1863, "as an act of justice," and as essential to the salvation of the country, to proclaim the emancipation of more than three million of slaves, belonging to the traitors in arms: and we hail the act as constituting a great historic era, carrying with it the approval and benediction of every true patriot, and giving a staggering blow to the rebellion, and none but traitors, and those who are in sympathy with treason, will be arrayed against its enforcement. Nevertheless,
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> 4. Resolved, That the exigencies of the country, moral consistency, and the highest political wisdom demand the immediate suppression of the remaining portion of slavery, exempted in the President's proclamation; and to this end we earnestly implore the President, seconded by Congress before its dissolution on the 4th of March, to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof"; so shall the issue presented to mankind be clear and definite between impartial freedom and slaveholding despotism, the American flag made the symbol of genuine democracy, the axe be laid at the root of the rebellion, the certain and glorious triumph of the Federal government be secured from the Lakes to the Gulf, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific every dweller upon the soil shall be in full possession of his natural, inalienable, God-given rights.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER, of Worcester, addressed the Society in regard to the proper position and existing duties of Abolitionists. Mr. F.'s speech was a strong and eloquent plea for a thorough Union of the North, and of all anti-slavery men, upon the ground of absolute, unconditional emancipation in every portion of the country, and insisting that the officers of the government, both civil and military, shall be men who will heartily sustain and enforce the most radical anti slavery policy.

CHARLES L. REMOND, of Salem, thought that the anti-slavery people were far too much disposed to be satisfied with political arrangements which do not recognize and protect the colored man's equal rights in this country, as a man and citizen. At one moment we are called to rejoice for the proclamation of Emancipation, and at another are told it is only a piece of parchment. At no time have the spite and hatred towards the colored man been more venomous than now.

Mr. OSGOOD, of Salisbury, denounced the existing Democratic party of the country as false to every idea and principle for which the recognized fathers and leaders of Democracy had ever contended.

S. S. FOSTER rose to make an inquiry of Mr. Osgood, relating to his past course in supporting men for office who have not been faithful to the principles of true democratic anti-slavery. Mr. Osgood yielded the floor, and

JAMES N. BUFFUM vindicated the National Administration, and the President in particular, from charges made against them by some of the speakers.

CHARLES L. REMOND replied, reiterating his dissatisfaction with the Anti Slavery Societies for what he deemed a too ready satisfaction with the so-called Emancipation policy of the government.

Adjourned to 2½ p.m.

AFTERNOON.—Met according to adjournment, the PRESIDENT of the Society in the chair.

HENRY C. WRIGHT offered the following resolutions, which he advocated in some brief and earnest remarks:

> 5. Resolved, that the great issue between freedom and slavery, free institutions and slave institutions, free labor and slave labor, now being tried in this nation, can never be decided in a war of bullets, but must be settled in a war of IDEAS; therefore, the friends of impartial justice and freedom have no cause to be disheartened by the temporary and partial reverses that have attended the movements of the Federal armies.
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> 6. Resolved, That the prospect of the abolition of slavery and the triumph of freedom over all the earth, so far as this nation is concerned, has never been so bright as at this hour; and whatever may be the *immediate* results of the civil war, our faith in the principle of the equality of man as to natural rights is unshaken, and our hearts are made glad by every step taken by the government towards universal emancipation.

He moved their reference to the Business Committee, which was voted. They were subsequently reported back to the Society by the Committee.

EDWIN THOMPSON asked for the reading of the resolutions previously reported to the Society, and they were read.

He supported the resolutions as, in his judgment, unexceptionable and unanswerable. He referred to Mr. Remond's remarks in the morning, and, after speaking of the equal rights, as citizens, which the colored people now enjoy so extensively in Massachusetts, in the public schools, at the ballot-box, in the railroad cars and all public conveyances, etc., said he was astonished to hear Mr. Remond say that the prevailing enmity to the colored people was as great here to-day as it had ever been.

Mr. OSGOOD, of Salisbury, continued his remarks of the morning, closing with a confident prediction of the speedy triumph of the principles of liberty.

The Finance Committee announced that they would call upon the members and friends present for their annual donations to the Society.

WM. WELLS BROWN addressed the Society upon the steady improvement in the character, condition, and circumstances of the colored people in the United States. He spoke especially of the capability of the colored people to maintain themselves comfortably and respectably, and to contribute to the general welfare of the country. He spoke of the wretched food dealt out to the slaves of the South-west, and said that, when freemen, they would require very different food, clothing, etc., and so open a new and vast market for the manufactures of the East, and the produce of the North-west. He closed with some entertaining anecdotes of his *white* relations in Kentucky, etc.

AUGUSTUS COBURN, Esq., of Haverhill, spoke in an encouraging strain of the present prospects of the cause of freedom. He differed from Mr Wright that slavery could not be put down by bullets; it never would be put down except by bullets.

The Committee on the nomination of officers presented their report as follows:

President—EDMUND QUINCY, of Dedham.

Vice-Presidents—Bourne Spooner, Plymouth; William Ashby, Newburyport; Adin Ballou, Hopedale; Jefferson Church, Springfield; Josiah Henshaw, West Brookfield; Henry I. Bowditch, Boston; James N. Buffum, Lynn; John T. Hilton, Brighton; Ellis Allen, Medfield; George S. Flint, Rutland; John Bailey, Lynn; David P. Harmon, Haverhill; Thomas T. Stone, Bolton; Ezekiel Thacher, Barnstable; Charles Lenox Remond, Salem; John Clement, Townsend; Atkinson Stanwood, Newburyport; Joshua T. Everett, Princeton; Benjamin Snow, Jr., Fitchburg; George Miles, Westminster; Timothy Davis, Framingham; Zebina H. Small, Harwich; William Pope, Jr., Dorchester.

Corresponding Secretary—SAMUEL MAY, Jr., Leicester.

Recording Secretary—ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Boston.

Treasurer—EDMUND JACKSON, Boston.

Auditor—WM. I. BOWDITCH, Brookline.

Councillors—William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Maria W. Chapman, Charles K. Whipple, Anne W. Weston, John T. Sargent, Charles E. Hodges, Ezra H. Heywood.

The Report was unanimously accepted, and the persons named duly elected officers of the Society.

The PRESIDENT spoke of the great loss which the Society had sustained in the death of its Senior Vice-President, ANDREW ROBESON of New Bedford, who had borne nobly and unchanged in spirit the various trials of prosperous fortune, and of *loss* of property and friends, continuing a faithful Abolitionist to the last moment of his life.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER again spoke, to plead for a stricter and more radical standard of political and moral action.

Mr. GARRISON futher reported from the Business Committee as follows:

> 7. Resolved, That while we feel thankful for the Proclamation of January 1st, we respectfully but earnestly call upon the President to see that its execution be placed in the hands of those who are known to believe in its rightfulness and necessity; and that it be made a practical fact to the slaves, as well as a test of loyalty in the army, by placing them in the same category and on the same footing with all others who are ready to die, if need be, in the service of our common country.
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> 8. Resolved, That the question of emancipation, under the proclamation, is assuming such gigantic dimensions as imperatively to require a new Bureau in the Department of government at Washington, for the special purpose of guarding the rights and interests of the liberated bondmen, providing them with land and labor, and giving them a fair chance to develop their faculties and powers through the necessary educational instrumentalities, and we urge upon Congress the vast importance of instituting such a Bureau without delay.

WENDELL PHILLIPS spoke briefly in their support, and of the results of the observation he had within a few days been enabled to make, at Washington, of the purposes of the President and the Administration.

Adjourned to 7, p.m.

EVENING.—Met again at the Music Hall, the PRESIDENT in the chair.

The venerable JESSE STEADMAN, of Springfield, Vermont, addressed the meeting. At the age of nearly 82 he had come, he said, from his distant home, to attend this meeting, and look into the faces of the Massachusetts Abolitionists. He spoke easily, clearly, with an evidently keen perception of the real position of things, and with frequent applause.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON reported from the Business Committee the following resolutions:

> Whereas, The most untiring efforts have been made by that mercenary and depraved sheet, the London *Times*, and by leading journals throughout the kingdom, to commit the public sentiment of England to the side of the traitorous Confederate States—and, for a time, with such apparent success as to make it seem as though that sentiment was overwhelmingly pro-slavery, to the perplexity, grief and astonishment of the friends of free institutions universally; therefore,
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> 9. Resolved, That it gives us unspeakable satisfaction to see that a powerful reaction is taking place across the Atlantic, in stern condemnation of the Southern Slaveholders' Rebellion, and in outspoken sympathy with the North; and we desire particularly to proffer our thanks and our expressions of admiration to the operatives and working-men of Lancashire and other Counties, who, though on the verge of starvation by the failure of cotton supply and manufacture, in consequence of the war, have sent an address of sympathy and rejoicing to President Lincoln in view of his Emancipation Proclamation, nobly preferring still to suffer for lack of bread, rather than to give any countenance to the traitorous designs of the relentless enemies of free labor and free institutions.
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> 10. Resolved, That the cause of freedom, not only in this country, but throughout the world, is signally indebted to the indefatigable efforts of such men as GEORGE THOMPSON, JOHN BRIGHT, Prof. CAIRNES, Prof. NEWMAN, JOHN STUART MILL, WILLIAM E. FORSTER and Rev. NEWMAN HALL, and of such journals as the London *Daily News, Star, Dial,* and *Anti-Slavery Advocate*, to enlighten the people of England respecting the real nature and tendency of the conflict now going on in America, and to keep them true to the principles of civil and religious liberty unseduced by the wiles of secession, and unbribed by the temptations of commercial and manufacturing cupidity.

These resolutions were supported in a speech of great power and eloquence by Mr. Garrison.

Speech of Mr. Garrison.

MR. PRESIDENT: I am proud and delighted to follow in the footsteps of my venerable predecessor [JESSE STEADMAN, Esq., of Vermont], who has just taken his seat. He sets an inspiring example to men much younger than himself, in his devotion to liberty, his uncompromising abhorrence of slavery, and his desire to see man recognized and treated as man the world over.

I do not think that my excellent friend intended to reflect at all upon my non-resistance principles, in the case which he suggested as putting them to a severe trial. If that doctrine is true, it is capable of meeting every emergency, and resisting every temptation. If it is right, then no human being may plead his or her necessity to have the right put aside because principle is above all personal considerations of safety, divine and eternal; and I see no conflict between the most thorough non-resistance and the application of it in any supposable case of violence and outrage. Never did I have a stronger assurance in my own soul than now, that it is true Christianity, and cannot be overthrown; but it is a doctrine greatly misunderstood, often wantonly caricatured, and so rendered ridiculous in the eyes of the unreflecting. But, sir, this is not the place to discuss the question of non-resistance.

It seems to me, Mr. President, that the least we can do, before our final adjournment, is to make a distinct recognition of a most cheering fact—that while, for some time past, the sentiment of England has seemed to be strangely gravitating toward the Southern Confederacy, and disposed to give it sympathy and aid; now, all over the kingdom, there is an uprising of the good, the true, the virtuous, who are giving us the real opinions of the people, in strong sympathy with the American government, and in decided condemnation of the rebellion. Particularly noticeable is the case of the noble, suffering, starving operatives of Lancashire and other Counties, who are presenting to the world the sublimest spectacle of fidelity to the right under the severest trial; for if anything will tempt men to compromise their principles, it is when they see their wives and children starving, and that, by sacrificing their integrity, they can procure bread. But the working men of England have nobly trodden the temptation under their feet, and said to the Southern demon, "Get thee behind me, Satan!" As their Address is in few words, I deem it due to those noble working men to read it to the Society:

> "*To his Excellency* ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *President of the United States:*
>
> "SIR—We who offer to you this address are Englishmen and working men. We prize as our dearest inheritance, bought for us by the blood of our fathers, the liberty we enjoy—the liberty of free labor upon a free soil. We have, therefore, been accustomed to regard with veneration and gratitude the founders of the great Republic, in which the liberties of the Anglo-Saxon race have been widened beyond all the precedents of the Old World, and in which there was nothing to condemn or to lament but the slavery and degradation of men guilty only of a colored skin or an African parentage. We have looked with admiration and sympathy upon the brave, generous, and untiring efforts of a large party in the Northern States to deliver the Union from this curse and shame. We rejoiced, sir, in your election to the Presidency as a splendid proof that the principles of universal freedom and equality were rising to the ascendant. We regarded with abhorence the conspiracy and rebellion by which it was sought at once to overthrow the supremacy of a government based upon the most popular suffrage in the world, and to perpetuate the hateful inequalities of race. We have ever heard with indignation the slander that ascribes to England sympathy with a rebellion of slaveholders, and all proposals to recognize in friendship a Confederacy that boasts of slavery as its corner-stone. We have watched with the warmest interest the steady advance of your policy along the path of emancipation, and on this eve of the day on which your proclamation of freedom takes effect, we pray God to strengthen your hands, to confirm your noble purpose, and to hasten the restoration of that lawful authority which engages, in peace or war, by compensation or by force of arms, to realize the glorious principle on which your Constitution is founded—the brotherhood, freedom, and equality of all men."

In the new order of things, I will not suggest an emendation, even in regard to the word "Constitution" in that Address; for I hold that, in consequence of the rebellion, slavery being in arms to destroy the government and overturn all that is dear to us as freemen, it has made itself an outlaw, and has no constitutional right left, except to be capitally executed without delay (applause). So that, whereas I was once a Disunionist, on moral grounds, I am now a very tenacious Unionist (loud cheers). I am not willing now that the South shall go; for I think God has delivered her into our hands (loud applause)—not to do her any evil, but to save her from her deadliest curse and her colossal crime; and it will be to the everlasting condemnation of the government, if it allow this sublime opportunity to pass without breaking every yoke, and letting the oppressed go free throughout the land (applause). I have no idea, therefore, of advocating a recognition of the independence of the Southern Confederacy; on the contrary—"Liberty and Union—one and inseparable—now and forever!"

Let me say, Mr. President, that I think we, as Abolitionists, have a right to be jubilant in spirit on this occasion. I do not understand how it is possible for any man, white or colored, being conversant with the history of our great struggle, to come here and talk in a desponding strain, as though, after more than thirty years of sacrifice and toil, "in season and out of season," the Anti-Slavery cause had virtually made no progress! Why, I would not continue to give my support to a cause that could not produce a better result than that! I would not believe in a God that, after thirty years' trial, proved that reliance upon Him availed nothing in the cause of suffering humanity! (Applause.) Our cause—at the outset, what was it? Nothing! Nothing, I mean, in regard to men, or numbers, or influence. What is it now? The commanding power of the nation (applause). Then, there was only here and there a person willing in a whisper to acknowledge himself an anti-slavery man; now we have hosts in all the free States—they are to be counted by hundreds of thousands—more or less deeply baptized into the spirit of our glorious enterprise, and ready to meet the final issue with the Slave Power. Thirty years ago it was midnight with the Anti-Slavery cause; now it is the bright noon of day, with the sun shining in his meridian splendor (applause). Thirty years ago, we were in the artic regions, surrounded by icebergs; to-day we are in the tropics, with the flowers blooming and the birds singing around us. I say this simply as a matter of contrast and comparison.

When our enterprise was commenced, of course it was to be put down! Everybody said it must be put down. All over the country, North and South, there was a solemn determination that the hated cause of Abolitionism should be put down. The Church said, "It must be suppressed"; the clergy said, "It must be suppressed,"; the commercial and manufacturing power of the land said, "It shall be suppressed"; all the political parties said, "It shall be suppressed"; all the wealth and power and fashion of the country declared, "It shall be suppressed"; and they all tried their best to suppress it. Did they succeed? Was it ever suppressed? Has the country ever been delivered from the hated anti-slavery agitation since its commencement? Have we been going backward or forward? Now, sir, if our cause could not be put down by the combined power of this nation, thirty years ago, when it had scarcely a single adherent, what party shall hope to succeed in any effort to put it down at the present time, now that its friends and advocates are multitudinous? The idea is absurd! Whether we are many or few, one thing is certain—ours is the cause of God—the cause of man the world over. Who can put down the cause of God? Who can successfully measure weapons with God? Who is it that has given us strength and victory? God! And why is it that we have gone on, conquering and to conquer, seeing we have had nothing but a simple, naked, abstract truth to apply to the hearts and consciences of the people? Because that truth is of God. "*The Almighty has no attribute that can take sides with the slaveholder!*" That is the secret of anti-slavery success and the cause of pro-slavery defeat. Who made that declaration? Thomas Jefferson. What State gave birth to the man who uttered it? Virginia; and Virginia, to-night, in this hall, is a witness to the divine nature of the Anti-Slavery cause, and testifies that no weapon against it can prosper. Public men have tried to put down the Anti-Slavery cause, and found themselves put down. Parties have tried desperately to extinguish it, and they have been broken in pieces. And so it will be to the end. Why, then, should we not always be in a hopeful state of mind? What though, temporarily, the heavens are dark? Heavy clouds may be now and then between us and the sun, but the sun is still behind, shining in his strength. The clouds are ephemeral and will pass away, but the sun shall come out again in the fullness of his mid-day glory. So, however dark may be the skies in a certain quarter—and it depends very much upon the stand-point an individual occupies, what he sees and what is his conclusion—nevertheless, the Anti-Slavery cause is growing in strength and numbers every day and every hour. It has at last so changed the great Northern heart as to make it impossible for the slave-traders and slave-drivers of the South any longer to remain in partnership with the North. It is a mighty moral change that has produced this convulsion in our land; and we need not shrink from the imputation, maliciously thrown by those who wish to convey the idea that we have done an evil work, that to us, as Abolitionists, is attributable the present rebellion of the South. Certainly, sir, under God, it is true; but not to our condemnation. What has been our crime? Is there a decent man in this assembly, is there a truly honorable man in the world, who will venture to stand up here, or anywhere else, and assert that when we say, "The laborer is worthy of his hire," it is fanaticism?—that when we say the marriage institution ought not to be abolished to give unlimited license to lust, but sacredly maintained, we are guilty of fanaticism?—that when we say, God made the human intellect to be developed, and, therefore, there ought to be the conditions of development secured, it is fanaticism?—that when we say, there should be no traffic in human flesh—the babe belongs to the mother who bore it, the husband has a sacred right to his wife, the wife has a sacred right to her husband—we ought to be branded as fanatics and extremists? I maintain, sir, that we have done nothing more than this: we have advocated simple honesty, simple humanity, simple justice between man and man; and they are the fanatics, disorganizers, infidels and traitors, in a most evil sense, who spurn these sentiments, in their application to the negro race, and endeavor to shield from infamy the accursed system of slavery at the South (applause).

What a cheering gathering we had last evening in this hall! What a collection of brains and of hearts! What a willingness to come forward again, and on the altar of bleeding humanity to lay generous contributions, that still the struggle of ideas may go on, the moral fight be continued; that still the American Anti-Slavery Society may be enabled to go forth, educating the conscience and the heart of the North, and confirming it more and more in favor of immediate and universal emancipation!

My friend, Mr. Foster, on being interrogated as to his views on the state of the country to-day, said—"I think the cause of Liberty will triumph." So do I. I know it will triumph. In any fair field, when was Liberty ever vanquished? Wherever freedom of speech was left, when, I ask, was Liberty defeated in argument, or driven back with shame? I know that the oppressed are to be set free. Do I know precisely when, or how? No—God only knows. Still, it is as settled a fact as the law of gravitation, that the time is coming—I believe it is near—when every chain shall fall, and every bondman stand erect, the freedman of the Lord (loud applause). Yet, sir, I am not inclined at any time to be over-jubilant. I believe my friends will bear me witness that I have never taken any change, however favorable to our cause, very extravagantly; and if I have been less conspicuously exultant in view of the President's Emancipation Act, it is not because I have not fully realized the vast importance of the measure; it is not because I do not regard it as having a momentous bearing upon the success of the Anti-Slavery cause, and the suppression of the rebellion. True, mere parchment is nothing; and if the government means to leave it just as it is, and to allow men to lead its armies who have no sympathy with the proclamation, and no regard for the oppressed, I do not know that much will come of it. But, sir, I take it for granted that the government, having committed itself to an Anti-Slavery policy, and declared more than three-fourths of the slave population free, means to be equally earnest and consistent in carrying that proclamation into effect; and the cheering news that comes to us to-day that no less than eighty officers of the army of the Potomac are to be "sent to Coventry," because of their opposition to the proclamation (applause), indicates a determination on the port of the government to see that the right men, like Phelps and Fremont (applause), are put in the right places.

Sir, I do not forget, for one moment, the work that remains to be done. Gentlemen, personally unknown to me, and but recently converted, frequently say to me—evidently very sincerely—"Mr. Garrison, we congratulate you on the termination of your labors! You can now disband the Anti-Slavery organization, and cease sending forth Anti-Slavery lecturers—for your work is done." I have no doubt it gives these gentlemen real pleasure to say this; but it is a little too rose-colored—that is all. They do not yet understand the nature or the power of the monster to be slain. It is true that he has been speared through and through many times, and that he begins to spout blood—which indicates that he is in his dying agonies; but I must see him dead and buried before I shall consider my work done (applause).

Let no one suppose that the Abolitionists wish to continue in the field a moment longer than their labors are needed. I would to God that this might be the last meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society—that the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in May next, might be the last meeting of that Society, in consequence of the instant and eternal overthrow of slavery in our land; but, however cheering the signs of the times, surely, while millions are still in bondage, we must not dream even of a respite. We have a great deal yet to do. Our mission is a very distinct one. Nobody accuses us of looking after the loaves and fishes of office. We have made ourselves, for the slave's sake, outlaws for the last thirty years, and by our principles cut ourselves off from all hope of worldly preferment or emolument. We are not partisans, in a political sense; we are not sectarians, in a religious sense. We stand outside of all parties and sects, and beyond their control; hence, we are able to see them, measure them, and speak of them as they are, without partiality, and with all possible fidelity. That is our mission. No political party, of course, seeks to effect a moral regeneration of the people; but it is, or may be, the product of such a regeneration. A great deal is said about the potency of the ballot. Granted, that it has its value and importance in the termination of a struggle like ours. But there is something behind the ballot. It is that truth which makes a man see, in the despised and hated slave, a copy of himself—a brother-man—and feel that he ought to "remember those in bonds as bound with them," and to give his vote, therefore, to strike the chain off the slave as effectively as he can. Every one who is intelligent on this question knows that, just in proportion to the amount of moral influence exerted by the Abolitionists in any community, there is a sure political result—namely, Republicanism. It is cause and effect.

A great deal has been done to mitigate the cruel, unnatural and unchristian spirit of complexional caste in our country. Yet my friend, Mr. Remond, was perfectly right in saying there is still a vast amount of it in existence; malignant, active, unappeasable, ever seeking occasion to insult and brow-beat the colored man, and drive him to the wall. Our work, therefore, is still to testify against this wicked spirit; to show how utterly unmanly and brutal it is; and, by a constant presentation of the claims of our colored brethren to justice and humanity, at last get those claims acknowledged and allowed, in every part of the country.

Again, sir, we see cropping out at this time, all over the North, a great deal of sedition—*democratic* sedition! Think of a democracy which goes for the slave-auction—for making man the property of man!—which is ready to lick the feet of a bloody, rebellious and most impious slave oligarchy!—which labors by day and by night to put down freedom of speech and of the press at the North, and to protect and perpetuate chattel slavery at the South! That sir, is all the democracy left in the land. I hold it to be from hell, and that it ought to be sent thither (loud applause). It is impudent, defiant, factious, devilish to the last degree. It talks of successful opposition to the government—of winning back the rebellious South, by concession and compromise, to exercise absolute supremacy over the whole country; but it is counting without its host There is a reserved moral power in this mighty North of ours, that will, in the hour of extremity, sweep onward like Niagara, and overwhelm every vestige of this satanic democracy (applause). Our duty is to brand it by its right name—not for any party purpose, but because such a democracy is the synonym of Cruelty, of Robbery, of Adultery, of Lust, of Murder—in a word, of accursed Slavery.

Let us go on, anti-slavery men and women, rejoicing that thus far we have been enabled to continue, by the help of God; and let us not dream of disbanding our organization or furling our banner, until from the Atlantic to the Pacific, every human being shall rejoice in his freedom (applause). Then, and not until then, will our work as Abolitionists be accomplished. Then, indeed, we shall no longer need an American Anti-Slavery Society, or anti-slavery papers, or any anti-slavery agitation; but we shall all be united as brethren in the spirit of Justice, and sitting under the tree of Liberty, with none to molest or make afraid.

Our next work will be, as philanthropists, to do all in our power to succor and elevate the liberated bondmen; to see that they have all desirable means of education—that they are fully protected on the soil where they belong, in all their rights and interests—that they are fairly paid for their labor, and allowed to possess land and become freeholders, like others who are of a different complexion. But as Abolitionists, distinctively, our special work is to raise the public sentiment of the North, morally and religiously, to the height of demanding of the government, in this emergency, the utter annihilation of slavery, not only as a means of suppressing the rebellion, but, in the language of the President, which I delight to repeat, "AS AN ACT OF JUSTICE," to receive the blessing of Almighty God and the approving verdict of an admiring world! (Loud applause.)

Mr. G. was followed by WENDELL PHILLIPS, in a speech of considerable length, and evidently of very deep interest to the audience.

[This speech may be expected to appear in full from the phonographic report.]

Mr. GARRISON reported from the Business Committee the following additional resolutions:

11. Resolved, That in the invitation of Gen. George B. McClellan to Boston, and the offering to him a public reception and public honors, when taken in connection with the fact that he has been recently removed from his command, by reason of his incompetency and failure to obey the orders of the government, we see too palpable evidence of a spirit in Boston hostile to the government, willing to compromise the great principles of Justice and Right, and hastening to strike hands with Seymour, Wood, Cox, and other enemies of the Union, in welcoming slaveholders and slavery back to the control and mastery of the Federal government.

12. Resolved, That in the deaths of two of the oldest and most faithful Vice-Presidents of this Society—ANDREW ROBESON, of New Bedford, and WILLIAM WHITING, of Concord—we have sustained a loss which we can hardly expect to see repaired to our cause or our association. Their ripe and manly virtues, their steadfast and firm adherence to anti-slavery principle in sunshine and in shade, their modest yet fearless self-consecration to the cause of the abolition of slavery in all circumstances of private trial and public temptation, endear their memory to us, and will ever keep it in deserved honor.

The resolutions before the Society were then adopted by a general vote, and without dissent.

On motion of JOHN H. STEPHENSON, Esq., of Boston, and seconded, it was

Voted, That the resolutions in the series now adopted, which relate to the execution of the Proclamation, and to the establishment of a Bureau of Emancipation, be fairly engrossed and transmitted to the President of the United States, signed by the President and Secretaries of this Society.

Adjourned, *sine die.*

EDMUND QUINCY, *President.*

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.,
WENDELL P. GARRISON, } *Secretaries.*

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2, 1863.

WHEN the Democrats began to filibuster the other night in the House, the "dilatory motions" were commenced, by Cox of Ohio, by a motion that he be excused from voting, upon which Vallandigham asked the yeas and nays. Covode of Pennsylvania rose instantly to his feet and asked the Speaker if an amendment to Cox's motion would be in order—an amendment that should relieve the Interior Department of the further services of the said Cox's brother! There was a good deal of laughter over this personal thrust, and some of the Republican members, perhaps, thought it *too* personal. But Covode knew what he was about, and he did not hit Mr. Cox half as hard as he did Mr. Lincoln. The point he made was this: here is Mr. Cox working in the interest of the rebels; a white-feather Democrat; abusing New England, and taking every opportunity to embarrass the Administration. Yet through his personal influence at this very time he contrives to keep his brother in a fine office under the Administration! This is just what the President and his heads of departments are all doing to-day. The lines are being drawn closer every day. The Democrats grow bolder and bolder every day. Yet it seems impossible to teach certain of our Republican leaders any wisdom. There should be no longer a doubt on the subject. Every man in the army or navy, and in the civil service of the government, who utters one word against the Emancipation proclamation should be instantly turned out, and the place filled by an Emancipationist. I would go even further than this: no man in office who cannot subscribe to the doctrine, that the President, having made emancipation a part of his war policy, it must now be heartily supported, should hold his place. The great majority of Republicans in Congress hold to this doctrine—so do the Republican people, but there is a strange and unaccountable backwardness on the part of the President and the heads of departments in enforcing it. The *policy* of the President does him credit. He is coming up nobly to the exigencies of the times, so far as the enunciation of principles is concerned, but he fails lamentably when it comes to choosing agents to carry out his policy. Can an infidel preach Christianity with any effect? What would the people think of a temperance lecturer who got drunk himself three times a week? Yet this plan of giving to pro-slavery men the execution of emancipation edicts is about as sensible. Shall not Republicans rather than Peace Democrats have the offices under a Republican Administration?

Not three days ago Mr. Lincoln nominated to the Senate sixteen Justices of the Peace for this District, and nearly every one of the number are villainously pro-slavery in their views, and some have been suspected of holding secession views! Yet we have just emancipated the slaves in this District. We are surrounded by a slave country, and there are slave cases constantly coming up before these petty courts, and the President of the United States nominates for the office of Justice men who would delight in the business of slave-catching! It is a monstrous piece of folly and wickedness. I can characterize it in no other way. Very likely it was an oversight—that the President did not know the character of these men—that Attorney-General Bates made the selection—no matter what the excuse, it is not a good one. I do not wonder that *The National Intelligencer*, in view of this and many other facts, has the effrontery to insinuate that the President does not mean to carry out an anti-slavery policy, but rather that he means to make the people sick of that policy. I do not wonder at the insolence of *The Intelligencer*, but of course there is no foundation for the base insinuation. The President is in earnest. He is honest in this matter. But he blunders dreadfully in his selection of men. An anti-slavery policy in the hands of pro-slavery men *will fail!* I hazard the prediction here, and will appeal to our history during the next two years.

Mr. Conway of Kansas has made a remarkable speech within a few days—a speech I do not agree with at all—but full of ability and eloquence. After listening to the speech, I confess to dejection, *there was so much of truth in it*. The future will tell whether Mr. Conway is right or not, but I think he did great injustice to the President. Mr. Lincoln honestly desires the overthrow of slavery—the salvation of the Union. He errs, not in his purposes, but in his acts. Mr. Conway favors an early separation from the South for the simple reason that he has entirely lost confidence in the ability of this Administration to wage a successful war, and he thinks we had better stop before we are entirely ruined. This is *my* version of his speech. While every one must admit that this is a dark hour, yet it should not be forgotten that we may soon win great victories, which will put an entirely different face upon our national affairs. A great victory at Vicksburg would set the West on fire, and if Joe Hooker shall win a battle on the Rappahannock, it will raise the drooping spirits of the nation. Successes within the next three months, if important, will put new life into the people, and they will resolve anew that the rebellion *shall be put down*, and that slavery shall be destroyed.

The great debate in the House upon the bill to raise colored regiments has been the only work of importance in Congress during the past week. It has attracted vast audiences, and it is not a very pleasant sign of the times that pro-slavery sentiments begin to excite applause. The audiences seem to be about equally divided between pro- and anti-slavery men, and I think it is a fact to-day that a majority of the office-holders in this city would be more likely to applaud a sentiment from Crittenden than one from Lovejoy. When Mr. Wright of Pennsylvania called for the reinstatement of McClellan in command of the Army of the Potomac, the galleries burst out with tremendous applause.

I was struck with a passage in the speech of Judge Kelley of Philadelphia, one of our staunch anti-slavery members of Congress. This is it:

"Sir, I am but a poor and feeble civilian. I have done little duty of a military character in my life. But this glimpse at the future grandeur of my country recalls one night of military duty to my memory. I had the honor, Mr. Speaker, of being an humble member of that great body of the people of Pennsylvania who rushed to the southern frontier of western Maryland, to protect at once the boundary of their own State and the flank of that army which was then supposed to have won a decisive victory at Antietam. It may not be generally known that the militia of Pennsylvania protected the flank of that army from Friday noon till Sunday at eleven o'clock. It was during that time that I lay down one night, carbine in hand, and gazed at the Milky Way with its innumerable myriads of stars; and while I thought of home and family, and of the family of a man who, until then, had scarcely known how to handle the weapon he held, rushing to such a post, I also thought of the grandeur of my country and of its immense future. I felt, sir, that in this great struggle the life of the best-loved or greatest of us all, or the sorrow of families, was no more in comparison with the cause than was the smallest star in all that immense multitude to the sun of the material universe. And I have felt since that time that to secure the peace of this country I would sacrifice the lives of the grandest and most delicate by thousands, and of the powerful and muscular and least valuable by tens of thousands. We must restore peace by achieving supremacy at whatever cost. But let not the North be asked to do it all. Authorize the President to call upon the rebellious territory to furnish its fair quota. Arm, equip, and pay those who respond to his call. And when you have done so, the rebellion will have ended. These gentlemen will no longer be able to serve the rebellion by protecting the laborers of rebels, and thus furnishing it with men to handle their cannon, dig their trenches, grow their food, make their clothes, and serve—as the record shows they have served throughout the war—to fight their battles. Let these gentlemen show before the country, if they can, that it is better these negroes should shoot loyal men than shoot traitors; and when they have done so, let them take out a patent for their own loyalty." . . . .

Here is the argument in favor of the bill—in the last few sentences of the paragraph—and in a small compass. The bill is expected to pass to-day.

Times have changed very essentially since the day when Charles Sumner was struck down upon the floor of the Senate by the ruffian hand of Brooks. I thought of this last Monday when I saw the graceful form of Wendell Phillips in the Senate Chamber of the United States. In the House he was greeted as a conqueror—and is he not conqueror? The long-time Abolitionist can come and go with safety in Washington at last; indeed he is honored. These changes are hardly appreciated in the whirl of events. A few days ago I saw a colored man standing in one of the doors leading to the floor of the House, listening to the anti-slavery debate, with the inner door pushed slightly open. He was an employee, but he was deeply interested in the debate upon his race. In the old time I suppose that he would have been pulled out by the heels if he had been caught listening to an anti-slavery speech, but now he was not interfered with. Why should he be? AVON.

PERSONAL.

Gen. Butler, it is hoped, will ere long address the people of this city upon questions connected with the war.

Frederick Douglass will talk on the President's Emancipation Proclamation and the Arming of Black Men, in the Cooper Institute, on Friday evening of this week. Give him a full house.

Gov. Stanley of North Carolina is said to have resigned, assigning as a reason his opposition to the President's proclamation. His administration has been a disgraceful failure—an offence to all truly loyal citizens, and an encouragement to the rebels.

Rev. Robert Collyer has received a very urgent call to Music Hall, Boston, to be settled over the 28th Congregational Society (late Theodore Parker's); but he has declined it, from his strong attachment to his Society in Chicago, and interest in the great Western cause.

Wendell Phillips delivered his lecture on "The Lost Arts" in the Cooper Institute, on Monday evening, under the auspices of the Mercantile Library Association. The house was full. We understand that the same association has invited Mr. P. to deliver his lecture on Toussaint l' Ouverture in this city, and that he will probably do so ere long.

The Washington *Republican* says: "It may not be known that Mrs. Lincoln has contributed more than any lady in Washington, from her private purse, to alleviate the sufferings of our wounded soldiers; and it is but just to add that day by day her carriage is seen in front of the hospitals, where she distributes with her own hands delicacies prepared in the kitchen of the White House. The fear of contagion and the outcries of pestilence fall unheeded upon the ear of those whose mission is mercy.

Theodore D. Weld lectured twice recently in Concord, N. H. *The Independent Democrat* says: "In both of his addresses, Mr. Weld spoke with great power. In his first address he analyzed clearly and logically the false doctrine of secession, and the bare-faced lies of the conspirators; in his last, he pointed out the many hindrances to the advancement of truth. Both of these addresses should be heard by every person in New Hampshire. Mr. Weld's style of speaking is pleasing, and not of a noisy and ranting character. He is a scholar, and his arguments are well arranged and clear, and his reasoning is profound." He is advertised to speak in Portsmouth on Sunday and Monday evenings, Feb. 8th and 9th.

The Boston *Transcript* notices with a warm but proper indignation, certain slanders which are widely circulated. It says:

"Within the last two years there have been three eminent persons in high places whom the scandal of men, far more mean and vulgar than that of women, has infamously and without foundation, charged with drunkenness. We speak plainly, for that has been the plain slander. The distinguished civilian who was its first mark has 'lived down' into the earth the contemptible lie. Beginning, mainly, in November last, the same slanders have been industriously circulated by malignant and thoughtless persons of two eminent army officers, one of whom is Gen. Hooker. Had not the calumny been published we should not be willing publicly to allude to it. It must stop. There are laws enough which even rebel sympathizers admit to be constitutional to punish those who circulate such falsehoods.

"We have it from the lips of officers of recognized authority, who have been in the nearest and most constant personal relations with Gen. Hooker for eighteen months, that there never has been, even in the relaxations of a soldier's life, a single instance of his being under the influence of strong drink; and they authorize us to say further, that there never could have been, in that time, such an instance without their knowing it or hearing it. We have the word of another able officer, with whom the General held highly responsible office for two years in California, that he never knew or heard of such an instance.

"It is with feelings of repulsion that we write this authoritative refutation of a falsehood which venom and idle thoughtlessness have spread so widely as to make it a duty to tell the truth."

MME. DEMOREST'S RUNNING-STITCH SEWING MACHINE.—Mrs. Ann S. Stephens, the well-known writer and author, speaks of this machine in the following terms:

"At length, the desideratum so long sought for combining usefulness, speed, and cheapness, has been gained, and the occupation of the seamstress converted into a pleasure. The simple structure of this compact and beautiful little machine, will at once command attention, and the speed, certainty, and ease with which the work is done will make it THE FAVORITE with the ladies. There is no complicated machinery, but easy and simple as hand-sewing, it gathers, ruffles, tucks, runs up breadths, etc, with a magic swiftness. Such A PETITE RARA AVIS is this little friend of woman. Look at the machine—think of its trifling cost, and then measure the work of a day. What can fleet fingers do now! Yards to nails—feet to inches are the different results, and yet this little bird sings on—a plaything for a child—a relief for the weary—the best friend of the mother—the companion of the daughter, and a very blessing to all in the house.

"One trial will suffice to prove the truth of our words, and none that ever become the possessor will willingly part with the little, simple sewer that is a host with a needle, performing what hitherto was deemed impossible—the running stitch! and therefore acting as the aid to all other sewing-machines, and assisting them to accomplish their great work of relief to weary womanhood."

THE NEW GYMNASTICS.—Dr. Dio Lewis, author of the New Gymnastics and Principal of the Boston Normal Institute for Physical Culture, will give a lecture on the subject in the Cooper Institute, on Wednesday evening next. A large number of ladies and gentlemen, members of Mrs. Plumb's Private Class (meeting in Dodworth's Hall), will be present, in full gymnastic costume, to illustrate the system. The growing interest in the subject will no doubt insure a crowded house.

THE REBELLION RECORD, Part XXVI., is mostly occupied with "Documents," connected with the progress of the War, on the rebel as well as the loyal side. Sixteen pages, however, are filled with "Poetry and Incidents." The portraits prefixed are those of Commodore Theodorus Bailey and Major-Gen. Joseph Hooker. See advertisement of this work in another column.

THE ANNUAL ANTI SLAVERY CONVENTION for the State of New York will, we understand, be held at Albany on Wednesday and Thursday, Feb. 25th and 26th. We shall give further particulars next week.

AN APPEAL TO THE READERS OF THE STANDARD.

OUR readers all know, personally or by repute, Mrs. FRANCES D. GAGE, of Ohio, and most of them are probably aware that, some time since, she went to South Carolina, to assist, as way might open, in the care and instruction of the Freedmen. Her experience as a housewife, her acknowledged literary ability, and her ardent devotion to every good cause, commended her to all her acquaintances as an eminently suitable person for the work which there needs to be done. We are not surprised, therefore, to learn that, upon the recommendation of Prof. Zachos, General Superintendent, Gen. Saxton has appointed her as Superintendent of the plantations, six in number, on Paris Island. This island, at its upper end, is six miles from Beaufort, and at its lower extremity six miles from Hilton Head. Mrs. Gage's son is the only white person with her. There are on the island three hundred and fifty men, women and children. In a private letter she says: "They are the lowest and saddest conditioned people I have found." On account of their isolated condition they have not received so much attention as others who are more favorably situated, and their wants are very pressing." Mrs. Gage says: "Can you not, through your good wife and lady friends, send me a box of goods? Among the articles needed are thread (linen, black and white), cotton spools of the coarser numbers, cast-aside children's clothes (if not too much worn), old dresses, men's coats, and other garments, etc. If your friends can help this poor people to life and hope, I think they will do themselves a great good."

We propose to do what we can in response to this appeal among our personal friends in this city, and we ask our readers, many of whom know Mrs. Gage, to give us their aid.

Packages (the sender paying express charges) may be directed to Oliver Johnson, Anti-Slavery Rooms, 48 Beekman street, New York.

Received for Mrs. Gage.

A bundle of clothing, from Mrs. McKaye, of New York.	
A barrel of clothing from Ladies' Society of Cong Church, Harlem.	
Barrel of clothing, Angelina G Weld, Perth Amboy, N. J.	
Cash, S. S. Osgood, New York,	$10 00
Cash, Thomas Garrett, Wilmington, Del.,	4 00
Mary Pennock, Kennett, Pa.,	1 00

OLIVER JOHNSON.

The venerable Thomas Garrett, in a letter enclosing contributions, says: "I have long known Frances D. Gage, and I think her one of the most noble specimens of the handiwork of the Almighty. She is willing to make any sacrifice to help the despised and oppressed African. May she have her reward, and I know she will. I doubt whether in all the land another woman can be found as well qualified as she is for the undertaking."

Mrs. Ketchum, of Harlem, in sending the contribution of the Ladies' Society of the Congregational Church of that place, says: "Being few in number, we have not been able to accomplish much; but if our small contribution can raise any of these poor despised people to life and hope, we shall feel more than repaid for any effort we have made in their behalf. May the blessing of Heaven attend Mrs. Gage, and all who, like her, are spending their lives in this good cause."

With the money placed in our hands for Mrs. Gage we are able to buy the articles she needs for less than the market price. Three good sized boxes of clothing, etc., are already packed, ready to be sent by the first vessel that sails for Beaufort. Further contributions are needed.

EX-GOV. EDWIN D. MORGAN was, on Tuesday last, elected U. S. Senator from this State, to succeed the Hon. Preston King, whose term expires on the 4th of March next. He is not of the stuff of which the Empire State ought to make her Senators at such a time as this, but it is said that he stands pledged to support the Proclamation and all the measures necessary to give it effect.

Proceedings of Congress.

In the Senate, on the 29th, the semi-traitorous Saulsbury of Delaware made an apology for his outrageous behavior two days before. It is said that he was laboring under delirium tremens when he denounced the President by name as an imbecile, and when, upon being called to order and finally put under arrest, he displayed a pistol and threatened to shoot the Sergeant-at-Arms. His conduct was worthy of a champion of slavery. On the same day there was a spirited discussion of the bill to aid the State of Missouri in the emancipation of slaves. Mr. Wilson (Rep., Mass.) said this bill came from the House, where it passed under the lead of a member from Missouri, providing for the payment of ten million with immediate emancipation, and no slaves to be paid for who are brought into that State after the war. It went to the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, and comes back amended to allow slavery to continue there for thirteen years longer, and doubling the amount to be paid; and instead of refusing to pay for slaves brought into the State after the war, it purposes to pay for all slaves not freed under the Confiscation act. He was willing to do all he could to make the great State of Missouri a free State, but he could not vote for this bill with these provisions. He was not willing to pay the State of Missouri twenty million of dollars to hold men in bondage thirteen years longer. All the slaves in that State would not sell for twenty million of dollars if put up at auction to-day. Congress had pledged itself to aid the States in emancipation, but he was not willing to pay full price for all slaves. That State without the curse of slavery would have been the greatest State west of the Alleghanies. He offered, as a substitute for the bill, a general bill, giving aid to the States of Missouri, West Virginia, Delaware and Maryland. Mr. Fessenden (Rep., Me.) said the bill, as passed by the House, provided that a good and valid act of emancipation should be passed by the State before any money was paid. But this bill simply provides for a law by the State. He was not willing to vote for making an appropriation for the deportation of these slaves. This was a policy he had never pledged himself to adopt. It would be entering upon a boundless ocean of expense, which he doubted that we would be able to carry out. In these particulars he preferred the House bill to the substitute of the Committee on the Judiciary. Mr. Henderson (Missouri) urged the Senator from Massachusetts not to attempt to put Maryland and Delaware into the bill. It would be time enough to pay the States money when they ask for it. His State had come forward and asked help to rid herself of this incubus, and break down a system which binds them to this unholy rebellion. Now was the time, if Congress meant to do anything to carry out its pledges to aid in abolishing slavery. If this object were carried out, he believed the rebellion would lose all its power in Missouri. Refuse this and he might be driven into exile, and slavery might become stronger than ever. On the following day the discussion was resumed, and the bill was finally recommitted to the Judiciary Committee.

In the House on the 28th, there was an excited discussion upon the bill authorizing the employment of troops of African descent. The friends of the bill were determined to put the question upon the passage of the bill, and its opponents resolved to prevent it by all sorts of dilatory motions. The struggle was protracted through the night, until 5½ o'clock on Thursday morning, when the House adjourned with the general agreement that the bill should be open for further amendment or debate. The bill was further debated on the 29th and 30th; Messrs. Stevens, Sedgwick and others in favor, and several of the prominent Democratic and Border State members in opposition. The debate was continued on Saturday, and again resumed on Monday. Those who advocated the bill were Messrs. Roscoe Conkling of New York, Trimble of Ohio, Dawes of Massachusetts, Davis of Pa., Olin of New York, Wilson of Iowa, and Stevens of Pa. Those who opposed it were Messrs. Thomas of Mass., Biddle of Pa., Pendleton of Ohio, Maynard of Tenn., Allen, Cox and White of Ohio. Mr. Stevens of Pa., the author of the bill, closed the debate in a very able speech, in which he replied conclusively to those who had spoken against it. The bill then passed as follows, yeas 85, nays 55:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President be, and he is hereby authorized, to enrol, arm, equip and receive into the land and naval service of the United States such a number of volunteers of African descent as he may deem equal to suppress the present rebellion, for such term of service as he may prescribe, not exceeding five years; the said volunteers to be organized according to the regulations of the branch of the service into which they may be enlisted, to receive the same rations, clothing and equipments as other volunteers, and a monthly pay, not to exceed that of the volunteers, to be officered by white or black persons, appointed and commissioned by the President, and to be governed by the rules and articles of war, and such other rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the President: Provided, That nothing herein contained, or in the rules or articles of war, shall be so construed as to authorize or permit any officer of African descent to be appointed to rank or exercise military or naval authority over white officers, soldiers or men in the military or naval service of the United States; nor shall any greater pay than ten dollars per month, with their usual allotment of clothing and rations, be allowed or paid to privates or laborers of African descent, who are, or may be, in the military or naval service of the United States: *Provided further*, That the slaves of loyal citizens, in the States exempt by the President's proclamation of January 1, 1863, shall not be received into the armed service of the United States; nor shall there be recruiting offices opened in either of the States of Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, or Missouri, without the consent of the Governors of said States having been first obtained.

The amendment to the Missouri Emancipation bill, as reported by Senator Harris from the Judiciary Committee, consists of a substitution of twelve for eighteen months, as a limit to the time allowed for the adoption of an Emancipation act; a prohibition of pay for any slave introduced into the State subsequently to the passage of this act, and an increase of $15,000,000 to $20,000,000 appropriation, at an average of $300 instead of $200 for each slave.

PIERPONT'S ANTI-SLAVERY POEMS.—Nineteen years ago the undersigned published, in Boston, an edition of "The Anti-Slavery Poems of John Pierpont." It is entirely out of print, and I do not know where to find a single copy. A grandchild of the author is exceedingly anxious to possess a copy, and if any reader of THE STANDARD has one that he will consent to spare, he will confer a great favor upon me and do an act of kindness to the person above alluded to by sending it to this office. I will most willingly pay a reasonable price for it. Address OLIVER JOHNSON,
Anti-Slavery Office, New York.

NOTICE.—The call for copies of "The Anti-Slavery History of the John Brown Year" has been so considerable, that no more copies can be sent for the amount of postage, as heretofore offered.

FOR GRATUITOUS DISTRIBUTION.—The valuable and still timely tract, by Mrs. L. Maria Child, entitled, "The Right Way the Safe Way, proved by Emancipation in the British West Indies, and elsewhere" (108 pages), will be sent by mail to any person requesting it, and enclosing *six cents* in undefaced postage stamps. Address SAMUEL MAY, Jr., *221 Washington Street, Boston*

GERRIT SMITH'S SPEECH.—The admirable speech "On the Country," delivered by Mr. Smith at the Cooper Institute, Dec. 21 has been published in pamphlet form, and will be mailed, post paid, for a three-cent stamp sent to this office.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News.

Bennett's *Herald* of Wednesday morning has dispatches from Charleston, purporting to have been copied from the Richmond *Dispatch* of Monday, in which it is declared that on Saturday morning last the improvised rebel fleet of Charleston, consisting of two little patched up iron-clads and three small attending steamboats, made a sortie upon our blockading squadron, sunk two of the ships, set on fire and crippled several others, and cleared the roadstead of every vestige of a blockade. The story is inherently improbable, and we suspect it has been invented for transmission to Europe in the steamer which leaves Boston to-day, and to affect the stock market. Time will tell.

Gen. McClernand has landed his forces on the Louisiana side, five miles below the mouth of the Yazoo, and in full view of the city of Vicksburg. At last accounts two brigades were engaged in opening the famous Cut-off, commenced by Gen. Williams last season. As the river is now "bank full" at Vicksburg, there is a possibility that the enterprise may be successful, at least to the extent of permitting the passage of gunboats and transports.

We learn from Gen. Dix's Department that the rebels under Gen. Pryor advanced across the Blackwater on Friday, and made a demonstration with artillery on Gen. Peck's advanced brigades. Our forces were immediately disposed to meet them, and advancing, drove Pryor back again across the Blackwater, in the direction of Franklin. The fighting appears to have been quite brisk, and resulted in a loss to us of some 104 men killed and wounded. The rebel loss is not known, but some prisoners were captured. Gen. Corcoran had command of our forces.

The Army and the Negroes.

EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

ORGANIZATION OF BLACK REGIMENTS IN ARKANSAS.—Gen. Curtis has organized one black regiment in Arkansas, and is making good progress with another. Private letters from the fleet of Rear-Admiral Porter state that he is filling up his crews with the able-bodied freedmen of Arkansas and Mississippi, of whom great numbers are seeking service under the United States. It is thought that half the men who man the Western flotilla will soon be of African descent. Of their competency as sailors and gunners, no doubt is felt by our Admirals on the Mississippi as none was experienced by our Admirals on the Atlantic during the last war.—*Wash. Cor. Tribune.*

COLORED SOLDIERS IN FORT JACKSON.—Says the New Orleans correspondent of *The Times*: "The first regiment of Native Guards, in harmony with a suggestion I made at the time the first colored Union regiment was raised in this State, has been sent to Fort Jackson, and the troops before in possession are now in New Orleans. I have no doubt but these men will prove able and skillful defenders of the fort, and if ever called upon will do good service."

THE NEGRO TO FIGHT ON BOTH SIDES.—Notwithstanding Jeff. Davis's well affected horror of "the most execrable measure recorded in the history of guilty man," there is good evidence that the rebels themselves have been the first to use the negroes as soldiers, and if they dare trust them with arms they may yet have a larger black army than the government. As yet they have only employed the negroes as artillerists. Negro slaves worked a portion of the batteries at Vicksburg, by which our assailing columns were so savagely mown down, and negro slaves stand behind the batteries of Port Hudson, and yet the rebel chief lifts his hands in holy horror and calls upon the civilized world to go into spasms of moral indignation because the government proposes to employ negroes on the right side. As to the use of negroes in the Southern forts, a recent letter from an officer of the Banks expedition at Baton Rouge, says:

"The fortifications at Port Hudson are said to be very strong, the heavy artillery guns of monstrous size, and are worked entirely by negroes, who, it is now fully admitted, make the best soldiers in the world for heavy artillery service, being very muscular men. The sound of the cannon does not affect their brain, and they can endure fatigue much better than white men, and seem to be perfectly in their element while working the heavy guns within the fortifications. Our own government are beginning to realize this fact, and forts Jackson and St. Phillip are now being manned by negroes. There are now about 3,000 of them thoroughly drilled in ground movements as infantry, without arms, by Gen. Phelps, who fully realized what he must come to in regard to employing negroes as soldiers. Gen. Butler could not comprehend this fact, and the result was that Gen. Phelps resigned and went home. Gen. Butler changed entirely his opinion, armed these very men that Gen. Phelps had trained and disciplined, and it is fully admitted that we have no troops that are under better discipline, and who take so good care of their arms or better care of themselves. These are the very men who are now being sent to forts Jackson and elsewhere. I saw yesterday a company of some seventy-five, who had been selected within the last eighteen days by Gen. Sherman's orderly, and were being drilled by him, and they really showed great proficiency in company movements. This company is to be filled up to its maximum, 156, and is to work the heavy guns on a fortification."

FROM BATON ROUGE.—The correspondent of *The Tribune*, writing from Baton Rouge, La., Jan. 12, says: "We have got upward of 3,000 negroes since our reoccupation of this locality. They unload vessels, drive mules, act as servants, and do any work we put them at, wanting judicious superintendence. On the night of our arrival I attended a 'minstrel' performance by negroes, as excellent, intrinsically, as anything done by Christy's or Bryant's. Done by white folks, I consider this a mean sort of entertainment, but I laughed heartily at the genuine article." The same correspondent, under date Jan. 22, says: As an illustration both of the abject condition of dependence of the whites upon their slaves, and of the workings of the proclamation, I append a letter received by Capt. Seamans, our Provost-Marshal, and written to him by a widow, a resident of this place. It belongs properly to *The Tribune*, and I have copied it literally. Reading it, one pities the poor petitioner, no less the victim of an infernal system founded in injustice than her ex-slave, whose rightful revolt has reduced her to penury and helplessness. But comment is superfluous:

"Batton Rogue January 20, 1863. To the Honorable Provost-Marshal Ser you no doubt Recolect my fear is regard to a Negraw man Louis Clark a fellow inherited and raised has bien kindly treated in regard to food and clothing was never whip or abused in any way and Since my Weddow Hood 14 years I have given Him Wages by the Week and bourded and Clothed him if he earned 1 dollar and 50 cents per day the 50 cents was his, if less earned according no charg for medacal attention or nursing, I have treated him like myself, he came no more to eat or sleep at Home I sent for him yesterday he came I enquired of him the Meaning of Such a Step as he very well Knew I was destitute of Means of Support I have my home a Shelter from the Weather I will repeat his answer to me that he was now free and must look out for his self but perhaps he would call occesionly and hand me a dime or 2 he has always Boasted to his friends that he had proved me to be a Kind Mother to him not a mistress I know not what Stept to take to make a Support for Myself and daughter I am old and unhealthy my childs education not finished my brother promised me protection if I would give up the union question and follow him with my Negrow into the Confederate Army I could not dey him consiensously and now you find me unprotected under the Federel Government and abandioned by my only Brother for my polatick he is under the Confederate and I among the Federels we sepprated in sorrow and many tears On the bended knees of my perishing Body I call of you for advise me like a Brother and Simpathise like a Son if I loose my Servent I must with your aid seek some respectable occupation for myself and daughter.

"Pardon me for troubling you I have no one els to call on by the Mercy of God and your influcance I hope for brighter and happier dayes.

"My brother told me that I would loose my Negrow if I brought him hear but he promist not to leave me as he was with me hear last year and did not leave me I trusted him in confidents he was taken last year by your peopl but he would not stay he runaway and come home.

"Please oblig me by a call a moment if ever in my power to serve or oblege you I will with the greatest pleasure May the Blessings of our Heavenly father be with and conduct you through life is the prayer of your Humble Servent ——— ———

"advise Louis to be a good fellow and take care of me. T. B. G."

GEN. SAXTON'S TESTIMONY.—Gen. Saxton has addressed the following short account of his efforts to raise colored volunteer troops to the Secretary of War:

BEAUFORT, S. C., Jan. 25, 1863.

To the Hon. E. M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to report that the organization of the 1st Regiment of South Carolina Volunteers is now completed. The regiment is light infantry, composed of ten companies, of about eighty-six men each, armed with muskets, and officered by white men. In organization, drill, discipline and morale, for the length of time it has been in service, this regiment is not surpassed by any white regiment in this Department. Should it ever be its good fortune to get into action, I have no fears but it will win its own way to the confidence of those who are willing to recognize courage and manhood, and vindicate the wise policy of the Administration in putting those men into the field, and giving them a chance to strike a blow for the country and their own liberty. In no regiment have I ever seen duty performed with so much cheerfulness and alacrity. As sentinels, they are peculiarly vigilant.

I have never seen in any body of men such enthusiasm and deep-seated devotion to their officers as exists in this. They will surely go wherever they are led. Every man is a volunteer, and seems fully persuaded of the importance of his service to his race. In the organization of this regiment I have labored under difficulties which might have discouraged one who had less faith in the wisdom of the measure, but I am glad to report that the experiment is a complete success. My belief is that when we get a footing on the main land, regiments may be raised which will do more than any now in service to put an end to this rebellion.

I have sent the regiment on an expedition to the coast of Georgia, the result of which I shall report for your information as soon as it returns.

I have the honor also to report that I have commenced the organization of the 2d Regiment, which is to be commanded by Col. Montgomery.

I am, sir, with great respect, your obedient servant,
R. SAXTON, Brig.-General.

The expedition to the Georgia coast, of which Gen. Saxton speaks, was to ascend various rivers for the purpose of bringing off volunteers for the 2d Regiment. The success of it will no doubt be as great as that of a similar one undertaken last Summer.

THE FREEDMEN OF SOUTH CAROLINA.—It is understood, says the correspondent of *The Tribune* in the Southern Department, that Gen. Hunter will direct the suspension of the cultivation of cotton on the plantations worked under the auspices of the government during the coming season. He proposes to have all the soil devoted to the raising of corn, in order to afford some direct relief to the Subsistence Department, and decrease as much as possible the drafts of this Department upon the Federal treasury. One of the reasons for the change is the discrepancy between the financial profits of last year's cotton crop and the government capital invested in it. It is true, uncontrollable meteorological causes had most to do with the unsatisfactory crop; but in the present straitened condition of the national finances, it is well argued, similar investments of uncertain promise must be discountenanced. Another reason is the desire of Gen. Hunter to make as many of the able-bodied plantation hands available for service in the army and fatigue duty as possible. Corn, potatoes, etc., can be well raised by the women. Col. Montgomery is already hard at work canvassing the various plantations for recruits.

BLACK SOLDIERS.—The report that Gov. Andrew had been authorized by the War Department to enlist colored soldiers proves correct, as the following order shows:

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, }
January 20, 1863. }

Ordered, that Gov. Andrew, of Massachusetts, is authorized until further orders to raise such number of volunteer companies of artillery for duty in the forts of Massachusetts and elsewhere, and such corps of infantry for the volunteer military service as he may find convenient; such volunteers to be enlisted for three years, unless sooner discharged, and may include persons of African descent, organized into separate corps. He will make the usual needful requisitions on the appropriate staff, bureaus and officers, for the proper transportation, organization, supplies, subsistence, arms and equipments of such volunteers. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

NEGRO REGIMENT IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.—A movement is already on foot among the colored people of this District to organize a regiment among themselves, and when the bill now pending before Congress shall have become a law, to tender their services to the President to "go wherever ordered." The colored population of the District of Columbia is between 15,000 and 20,000.—*Wash. Cor. Times.*

WELL SAID.—A correspondent of the Providence (R. I.) *Journal*—an officer in the Army of the Potomac—closes a letter to the editor of that paper as follows:

"I am no negro worshipper. I have always believed that a white man is as good as a negro, if he behaves as well. Negroes are as much interested in this war as white men are; they are able and willing to fight—why not let them do so? I would as soon see black men charging on hostile bayonets as white men, whom I call brothers; their lives are no more precious than ours. The rebels force them to fight against us; why do we not give them an opportunity to fight for us? *If there are men in Rhode Island who are unwilling negroes should fight for us, let them come and fight themselves.*"

PURGE OUT THE MORBID HUMORS OF THE BLOOD, by a dose or two of AYER'S PILLS, and you will have clearer heads as well as bodies.

Advertisements.

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SPECIAL NOTICE.

On and after April 1st, the price of "THE REBELLION RECORD" will be *advanced* FIFTY CENTS a volume. From that date, the sale of Parts, from Nos. 1 to 24, will be discontinued. *Back sets* of "THE REBELLION RECORD" will be sold only in volumes. Purchasers and subscribers who have not completed the four volumes must at once do so. The work will continue to be published in parts, at 50 cents—each part illustrated with two portraits on steel. Volume V. will comprise seven parts.

SONGS OF THE FREEDMEN OF PORT ROYAL: Collected and Arranged by Miss LUCY MCKIM of Philadelphia. No. 1, "Poor Rosa, Poor Gal"—No. 2, "Roll, Jordan, Roll." For sale at the Anti-Slavery Offices in New York, Philadelphia and Boston. Price, 25 cents each.

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

NEW YEAR'S DAY, 1863.

Brightly broke the jocund morning o'er the eastern hills to-day,
While my little child knelt by me, praying in his simple way,
"Let Thy kingdom come, our Father, and on earth Thy gentle sway."

Suddenly, as if in answer to his child-prayer, soft and clear,
Like a burst of heavenly music, chimed the sweet bells, far and near;
"Listen!" said he, "'tis some angel ringing in the glad new year!"

With a sort of reverent wonder, slowly rising from my knees,
"Of a truth, dear Lord," I murmured, "Thou dost work as Thou dost please;
Hiding from the wise and prudent and revealing unto these.

"Truly 'tis some blessed angel ushers in this golden morn,
Like as when Judean hill-tops, to the outcast and forlorn,
Echoed back the song seraphic, 'Christ, the Lord, to-day is born!'

"For to-day the Christ of Freedom cometh, lo, the sweet bells say!
So, dear child, I did not chide you, did not dare to tell you nay
When you said, ''Tis sure some angel ringing in the glad new day.'"

Then I told, as I was able, to the dear one on my knee,
Of the promised boon of Freedom bidding the oppressed go free,
Of the gladness and the blessing and the glory that should be;

How, where'er these blessed tidings opened wide oppression's door,
That the sighing and the crying and the bondage all were o'er,
And the slave-child from its mother should be parted nevermore.

And the bells kept ringing, ringing, and the morning broke apace,
With a strange, unwonted gladness shining in its hallowed face,
Which, unto my simple seeming, did transfigure all the place.

From the bounding heart of nature dropt disguises, films and shams;—
What did ail ye, oh ye solid mountains, that ye skipped like rams
At the presence of His glory—and ye little hills like lambs?

Did I dream? Had some kind angel touched with sleep my happy eyes,
That I saw, as in a vision, nature shorn of her disguise,
Till the very hills seemed leaping, joyful, to the very skies?

Suddenly the bells grew silent, and a stillness settled down,
With its every-day decorum, on the quiet little town;
But the day still wore its beauty and its glory like a crown.

Still I heard the bells a-ringing; still the lovely air was stirred
With a music sweeter, gladder than the note of any bird,
Or the peal of any minster, and above it all I heard

That sweet voice of baby-wisdom still repeating in my ear—
Even thine, dear child!—in accents low and musical and clear,
"Listen, mother! 'tis some angel ringing in the glad new year!"

January 1st, 1863. CAROLINE A. MASON.

FASHIONABLE LIFE IN WASHINGTON.

Special Correspondence of The Springfield Republican.

WASHINGTON, January 22, 1863.

The Washington "season" is fairly inaugurated. The holidays over, we are almost smothered with a shoal of fashionables, who have come to the Capital for the express purpose of staring at each other, envying each other, slandering each other, and stunning sensible people with the splendor of a new dress every night. The nation seems in its death-struggle. Statesmen are bowed and silent. Military chiefs are haggard and desperate. Soldiers are dying like sheep from wounds and privations. Their families are suffering the extremes of sickness and want, for lack of the money and comforts which the husband and father could once supply, but the soldiers of the republic to-day have no money. Sixty miles away, one of its most gallant armies, unpaid, unsheltered, half-fed, discouraged, soul-sick, languishes on the banks of the Rappahannock. This is the unexaggerated life of the hour; but to these new-comers it is life to make calls in a carriage, to make a show at dinner, a sensation in the parlor; to waltz, to flirt, to doze and dream, and to waste time. Yes, the season has commenced. We who did not come to the "National" to be fashionable are fully conscious of this fact, as we muse over the quiet days that are no more; the cozy chats with congenial friends in still parlors, with no buzz-buzz to break our pleasantest thoughts into empty sound; the lonely, meditative promenades through silent saloons, whose crimson shadow was broken only by the suffusing sunshine of the early Southern Winter. Now, they are filled with loungers and laughter; with fashion and folly; with belles and beaux; with magnificent matrons and *passé* widows waiting to be consoled for their "irreparable loss."

Yet these hilarious days bring their recompense. I am not going to abuse them, nor their silly people. I remember, in the amber afternoons of last September, under the purple shadows of the Virginian hills, while we waited for Jackson's cannon to pour shell upon our heads, how the golden butterflies flew in and out of my window; how the humming-birds fed from the hearts of the flowers, flickering like flakes of flame away through the azure air. It seemed so kind in God to brighten the world with their winged, evanescent beauty, if only to beguile the eye and charm the thought for a moment, from the suspense and agony of the hour. I knew that when the bellowing batteries poured their burning hail upon our houses, they could not crush these flitting pulses of gossamer life. Untouched amid bursting shells and raining bullets, they would palpitate away, to drink sunshine and honey in some beautiful valley which war had not touched. So with these human butterflies and humming-birds; the war does not trouble them. The great shock of sorrow from the battle-field, scathing so many lives, cannot touch creatures lighter than air. Rachel weeps for her children, for they are not; yet these creatures dance and sing, and dress and dream. What is the war to them, but a column to yawn over in the morning papers? Yet their existence must have a purpose in the mind of God, as well as those butterflies of His which He makes out of caterpillars. To me they answer precisely the same purpose; and though it would be very presumptuous to suppose that God made them to amuse you and me, *Republican*, yet they do. Watching these creatures in their gay gyrations above the surface of society, many a moment they wile me to forget the suspense of the hour; the awful reality of our time. The world is crowded with care-taking, thoughtful, sombre, sympathetic people, who must suffer because they realize all suffering. What a gloomy world we would have of it, if the butterflies and humming-birds of society never flitted through their sorrowful ranks! Does not God give them to us as he gave to me the golden butterflies of last September?

I owe a wondrous debt to the "old National." Its parlors afford me infinite amusement. Why should I go to the theatre to be entertained? Without stirring out of my chair, I can see a drama with more human nature in it than any outside of Shakspeare; actors who do not offend me by mouthing and toning, because, in filling their roles to perfection, they are perfectly unconscious and perfectly natural. Look at Mrs. Magnificent. Isn't she equal to a picture in Harper's, or Vanity Fair? Mrs. Magnificent has her ambition. It is to reflect the wealth of Mr. Magnificent, and to be the most gorgeously dressed woman in Washington. If to be over-dressed is a success, she has succeeded. O, it is pitiful to think of the tortures which she endured before she stood before her mirror, "gotten up" for this occasion. Look at the bed of roses above that empty head; the frizzles, the furbelows, the brocade, the lace, the golden manacles, the silly little fan. Isn't she a personification of the golden god? Beside her, simpering behind another fan, sits Mrs. Sillybub. Mrs. Sillybub has two ambitions; one to obtain a husband, the other to obtain a footing in Congressional and Senatorial society. Her claims to such exalted companionship are very indefinite. But she toadies, she flatters, she frowns, and as a recompense for such distinguished service, the few who are foolish enough to accept it allow her under the shadow of their beneficent presence to pass in, and see the show. She says: "*My friend* the Honorable Mrs. ——." The Honorable Madame says: "*Only* Mrs. Sillybub." Here comes poor Mrs. Unfortunate, wistfully seeking "a position." She looks in at the door. No one invites her to enter. She takes a seat on the sofa. No one sits down beside her. She passes doubtfully through the rooms. Here and there a lady bows haughtily or carelessly. One will address a few words to her, then turn away indifferently. Amid all these gay groups of chattering women, there seems to be no place for her. She appears to belong to nobody. What is the matter? Every lady sees that she is in search of "a position." She is not able to command one. Thus the personages to whom she is foolish enough to appeal begin to weigh in a most delicate balance her claims to favor. Who is she? What does her husband do? Poor little soul! She has not brains enough to command either fear or respect. She has not wealth to win homage. She has neither beauty, style, wit, nor airs, to arouse envy, jealousy, or scandal. She is only a poor, negative little woman, with one positive quality, ambition for "a position in genteel society." Genteel society does not deign to persecute her; it leaves her painfully alone. Mrs. Unfortunate you are a good woman, a kind wife, a tender mother. I would make you comfortable if I could. Go to a quiet home, devote yourself to your husband, children and the friends who belong to you. Then you will have "a position" much more worthy of emulation than any which the National Hotel can afford. You cannot find one here, any more than the poor lady who sent to New York could find an "understanding" for her stupid daughter.

Mrs. Codfish has arrived. As she came at an hour fashionably late, she found the choicest reserved seats at private tables already appropriated. She was compelled to breakfast with a modest couple whose total lack of "air" excited her suspicions. Horrors! Mrs. Codfish had breakfasted with "common people." Upon minute inquiry, she learned that the gentleman was not an "Hon." He neither smoked nor chewed tobacco to excess; he did not go to "Canterbury Hall," nor indulge in other expensive Congressional pleasures. He was not besieging the government for either "claims" or "contracts"; he was only a quiet gentleman supporting his family by honorable business, too busy with his own affairs to occupy himself with those of his neighbors. Mrs. Codfish was indignant. Up went her head. "She had not come to the National to eat with common people." No, Mrs. Codfish; those who know you do not deem you capable of committing such a crime. Mrs. Codfish is now seated to her mind. To be sure, the "head" of her table is a very boorish person. He slouches into the dining-hall with his hands in his pockets; he pounds the table; he storms at the waiters; he has neither grace, brains nor breeding; but, my dear *Republican*, he has money. Mrs. Codfish finds the house crammed. She is anxious to ascertain how its inmates are located. She learns that Senators and Members are tucked away on the third floor; is told that even the fourth is filled with ladies. "Ladies on the fourth floor!" she exclaimed. "Impossible! There may be *women* there, *ladies* never!" Little Mrs. ——, as she sits in her sunny parlor on the fourth floor, the embodiment of quiet grace and refinement, would be slightly astonished if told by the loud, vulgar voice of Mrs. Codfish that she is not a lady, but with a nice estimate of its source, she would not resent the imputation. Pray, Mrs. Codfish, *who* are you? If your grandfather was not hanged, I dare say that he deserved to be. And if he was a reputable man, fit to make an angel of, how he must blush on the high floor of heaven over the mean littleness of his grand-daughter! Poor old woman! Powder your face; color your hair; frizzle it up till it looks like an oscillating pyramid toppling above your forehead; deck in gay silks and laces your well-preserved person. Your meagre farce of life will soon be ended. You will lay aside your stage attire, and descend to a solitary room on the "first floor"; but it will be narrow, and cold, and damp, and dark. Here at last all the dwellers of the National will find "their level."

With "the season," envy, jealousy, and all uncharitableness have entered in. Mrs. Yellow thinks that Mrs. Fair is altogether too fair, and receives the attentions of too many gentlemen for a married lady. Mrs. Yellow is not going to pardon Mrs. Fair for being very much handsomer than herself; as punishment, she "cuts her." Very fine fibered is Mrs. Fair; a very slight "cut" cuts her to the quick. In an instant, all the blood of an F. F. V. seems bursting in crimson through her cheek of snow. It is very galling, *ma chere sœur*, that the grand-daughter of a cobbler should have it in her power to snub the daughter of a Commodore. But remember, dear, life is rich in compensations. Poor Mrs. Yellow is hopelessly ugly, and not at all brilliant; her recompense she finds in her husband's money and the power it gives. Your satisfaction flows in the rich old blood in your veins, in the consoling consciousness that you are infinitely the superior of Mrs. Yellow. Toss your golden head, *ma belle*, but do not cry. Above all, do not condescend to be angry with an inferior. Remember there is a sublimity of pride which no mortal can touch. Nobody dare or can "cut" it. Ascend to that eminence, my dear; you will find the world beneath your feet. Be humble only to your God, the sad who need you, the hearts who love you.

THE REAL BELLES AND BEAUTIES.

Have I presented the only type of society which the season has brought? Oh no, my *Republican*. Noble men, pure, beautiful women meet in these gay *salons*. In the shade of this crimson curtain sits the author of "Ida May," her black garments contrasting almost painfully with the marble whiteness of her face. Last July the very life of her life was torn from her on the field of battle. Now, like a spirit from another sphere, she gazes on this brilliant picture of life. Oh, could we have helped it, the shadow of death should never have fallen on those beautiful eyes; yet we know that in this sorrow will ripen the fruit which will help enrich the world. Mrs. Burnham, the wife of the Hon. Mr. Burnham of Connecticut, is another realization of the highest type of a New England woman. Elegant, intellectual, with form, head and face Grecian in their beauty, I can hardly tell why, but she reminds me of the portraits of the first Mrs. Judson. The National has its share, too, of wedded and unwedded belles. Mrs. Judge Miller, of Iowa, graceful, genial and gay, is the focus of vivacity and sunshine, dressing and dancing with the abandon of a girl of sixteen, while she disarms all criticism by the ingenuous sweetness of her nature. Then we have the very brilliant Mrs. Whiting of Harrisburg, the pretty and stylish Miss Eastman of New Hampshire, the graceful Miss Rice of Missouri. New York sends a bevy of beauties: Miss Bean, who is pretty in spite of her name; Miss Spaulding, who suggests the old and ever beautiful idea of a lily; Miss Stebbins, a rosy Hebe, rich in graces, dry goods and diamonds. It is pleasant to see again the lovely faces of Lizzie and Lucy Hale, while their beautiful mother is once more the admiration of her friends, and the envy of the malignants, who cannot forgive her for having "altogether too many graces for a woman of her years." As if a woman had not the right to be charming as long as God will let her! M. C. A.

T. MASON JONES.

We had the great pleasure of hearing this orator from the Old World in his speech on the American rebellion. The poet or novelist must create. The philosopher is to originate. The prophet utters a new word. But it is the province of the orator to take a certain average of opinion and sentiment, recast it in an artistic form, kindle it with passion, and send it forth on the winged words of eloquent speech. This work Mr. Jones performs with masterly ability.

His rebellion lecture is this to a T. He tells us nothing absolutely new; but he is himself new, and that makes his subject new. He spoke from a European point of view. He had mastered the whole subject. He saw it with eyes of intuition, as well as eyes of the understanding; and having surveyed the whole origin, causes, history, wrongs, miseries and tendencies of this civil war, he lighted up the whole field of vision with the glorious lights of truth, justice, humanity and freedom. We wish Mr. Jones might give this lecture in every town and city of the Union. It grinds to powder the treason that lurks in Northern veins, and brands as they deserve those who would sell their country without money and without price.

Mr. Jones is a frank, hearty, warm-blooded Irishman, and none the worse for that. He is of good size; long head; strong, healthy complexion; a broad chest, supplying the brain with a sufficient amount of well oxygenated blood; and vigorous passions. Then he has evidently been a faithful student, mastered the processes of his own mind, laid up the materials of a literary stock in trade, and set before his soul the ambition of a noble career. His style is manly and straightforward. His words are strong and well chosen, with an occasional Latinism, like *desiderate*, which requires a dictionary for the commonality to interpret, and which they like to hear as a compliment to their sense. His bearing is confident, sympathetic, impassioned, and commanding. But his passion is the key to his success. He fires his audience, though they may be green wood when he begins. He does not allow them to think or feel for themselves; he proposes for the hour to think and feel for them. Beginning at the level of ordinary interest, and proceeding for some time with a rather measured and deliberate movement, and talking good common-sense, he first instructs, then convinces, then persuades, and then, taking his hearers off their feet, he carries them whithersoever he wills. We have eloquent lecturers, good reasoners, strong debaters, forcible preachers, but few orators. Mr. Jones is an orator, an Irish Curran. Go and hear him, and say if this is not the truth.

When he first came to the country, and we read his circulars containing the criticisms of the London, Liverpool and Dublin press, we inferred that he was a genius made by the newspaper types. But our conclusion was more hasty than wise. He will stand the critical test. He will, we hope, be well received in every part of the country. His lectures are magnificent performances. He will do great good wherever he goes; and his lecture on the American rebellion is itself a half battle for the Union cause and for freedom. He has a splendid career before him, if he will shun the dizzy dangers of such popularity, excitement, and good cheer, and study the precepts of Pythagoras, while he wields the weapons of Demosthenes.—*Christian Inquirer.*

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

I LIVE TWO LIVES.

BY FRANCES D. GAGE.

I live two lives—the one all pain and sadness
Over the world's lost heritage of gladness,
Its present toil and woe;
Keeping its eyes fixed ever on the lowly,
As crawling through the slime of earth, so slowly,
With weary feet they go.

I see a red-eyed monster slyly creeping
O'er all the land, and gathering in his keeping
The weak—the strong as well;
They seem to have no power to meet his cunning;
Madly to his embrace, with swift feet running,
They find the inebriate's hell.

I see the dim eyes all around me tearful
Over the wrongs of slavery—wrongs most fearful!
Which selfishness hath made,
While groans of bondmen, all the pure air staining,
Fall on my ear, the very soul-life paining!
I cry in vain for aid.

And then I see our goodly manhood dying,
I hear the widow's wail, the orphan's crying,
As war's teriffic hand
Hurls his red thunder, home and household crushing
Beneath his power, as, onward madly rushing,
He sweeps o'er all the land.

"Oh, curse of earth!" I cry with terror gasping,
My worn hands o'er my aching bosom clasping,
"Must these dread things needs be?
Is there no power to still this frightful jarring?
When will our Pharaoh end this awful warring,
And let the oppressed go free?"

And woman, all forgetful of her power,
Hiding her talents 'neath her flounce and flower,
Toying with jeweled bands,
While at her feet her children suffering languish,
And for her help the nations cry in anguish,
Lifting their bleeding hands.

O! sad the lower life that sees this only,
Weary and wounded, desolate and lonely,
Haunted by dismal fears;
Doubting and questioning of God's good giving,
While men despoil his image with their living,
Filling the earth with tears.

My other life is full of joy and gladness,
Looking above life's sorrowing and sadness,
With faith and hope and love,
Up, up to where the storm-cloud's golden fringes
Just hide the entrance of the door whose hinges
Ope to the world above.

My other life sees love and duty blending,
Patience and kindness waiting, watching, tending,
On all the weak who fall;
Speaking good words and comforting the tearful,
And, with a mantle, azure-hued and cheerful,
Warming and sheltering all.

And saints go forth, clad in celestial armor,
Striving to quell the wickedness and clamor
Of war, by truth and right;
Teaching the world that ever-quickening story,
That men, for truth's sake, even from scaffolds gory,
Step into life and light.

And with this life's clear eyes I see dear woman,
Mother of Christ, mother of all things human,
So brave and dutiful,
Leading the highest higher, ever higher,
Lifting the lowest to our God still nigher,
Making all earth more beautiful.

I soar on eagle's wings up, up the mountain,
Where gush the living waters from the fountain,
Near Heaven's high throne;
While voices ever sing from bud and blossom,
In bird-like tones, "Fear not, to his own bosom
God yet will fold his own."

"Who are God's own?" I ask, and myriad voices
Answer my question, while my soul rejoices;
Aye, from the very clods,
From stars to suns, from all things highest, lowest,
From angels down to worms: "Mortal, thou knowest
All things that are are God's."

THE JUBILEE CONCERT.

From Dwight's Musical Journal.

If a great occasion, great music, great audience full of joy that craves expression, if inspired performance, helped by consciousness of signal triumph over fears and difficulties, making the history of the celebration reflect that of the event celebrated, can make a concert, then the concert in the Boston Music Hall, on the afternoon of January 1, 1863, "in honor of the Day, the Proclamation, the emancipation of the slave, the spirit of the fathers and the Constitution," was in the most complete sense a success, and must remain memorable among our festivals of music. The idea of celebrating the day of the reaffirmation of the President's Emancipation proclamation, whereby the nation suddenly felt clean before God and the world, was nothing strange. But the idea of coupling with such jubilee, the highest art, and nothing meaner or more commonplace, as the one medium of expression, was, for these parts, somewhat novel, as well as difficult of execution. The whole plan and programme of this jubilee was based upon the conviction that the great thoughts of humanity and freedom, the progressive moral instincts of the age, although to this day spit upon and crucified, are yet in most intimate alliance and sympathy with the loftiest inspirations and utmost refinements of creative genius and art—musical art especially. The marriage of the two is the prediction of all history. They need and they imply each other. Art prophesies, assumes the nobler heights of humanity; as long as art breathes, there is a hope, a chance for freedom, and tyranny and meanness feel rebuked. On the other hand, the glorious instincts of a liberty and justice-loving people need art for a language; no meaner and more prosy dialect can worthily interpret them.

Hence the propriety of celebrating this new year of the nation's truer life, this day of jubilee, by a concert of grand music, in which Beethoven and Mendelssohn and Handel, only such great masters, should speak for us through such of their sublime inspirations as should seem practicable. But the practical part of the plan was almost as forbidding, as the idea was exciting. Not that it needed to go a begging for support and sympathy. Strong names to endorse it stood ready in such numbers, that the only problem was to keep the list of signers within limits. A great audience, too, was certain; it scarcely needed any aid of newspapers to gather it; so large and fine a representation of the best intelligence and character of Boston and New England, of thorough-going reformers and of refined amateurs in music (incongruous as those elements might seem upon the surface), of conservatives and radicals, of all classes capable of some pure enthusiasm, the most respected citizens, the noblest women, and the children too (long may they remember it!), was never seen on any musical occasion in our city. And it cost no factitious arts or advertisings to attract that assembly; they came too willing and taking all for granted, sure that the day and art would justify themselves; the only fear and trouble was to meet such expectations, to really produce the music, fitly intended, easily enough conceived, but by no means so easy of execution. Little did that vast audience, as they sat there on that splendid Winter day (one of the most beautiful that was ever born of a stormy night), amid the flags and patriotic emblems that so tastefully adorned the hall, in face of a stage covered with singers and musicians, all looking radiant, and the majestic form of Beethoven rising behind them, the score of the "Joy" Symphony in his hand, himself a noble type of freedom—the chief type of that union of art with freedom, of which we have been speaking—little did they dream what annoyances and difficulties had more than once well nigh balked the whole plan of the celebration, so far as the music was concerned. The short time for preparation; the many engagements of musicians at that season; the want of any organized society of singers, political animosity dividing those existing so that they could not be applied to; the necessity of raising a chorus of 150 or 200 voices by individual invitation, in most cases personally made; the almost impossibility of finding times for rehearsal, or even music to rehearse from, finally, the risking of the whole thing without *any* rehearsal of singers and orchestra together; then the storm of the preceding night, the only *real* rehearsal of the voices alone, and the threatening indications that the snow increasing might blockade our orchestra, playing far away in Springfield all night at a New Year's ball; then the justifiable nervousness of artists and conductors about risking themselves in an effort so unprepared—all this made the success of the concert one of the bright rewards of faith. For by faith and enthusiasm only, by the inspiration of the occasion, was it done.

Not, however, without meritorious agency and sacrifices. The whole-hearted manner in which Mr. B. J. Lang gave himself to the raising, drilling and leading of the vocal forces; in which Mr. Dresel, overcoming his habitual shrinking from appearing before publics, contributed the best of his rare art both as interpreter and as composer, and helped on everything with his wise counsel; in which Mr. Kreissmann risked (but so triumphantly) his voice under the most unfavoring circumstances; and in which the ladies and gentlemen of the chorus poured out full hearts in their song—all with no reward but their own joy in the occasion, and in the response of such an audience—deserves more thanks than most of that audience could be aware of. Mr. Zerrahn, too, and his orchestra (numbering some forty-six instruments), appeared to catch the spirit of the hour, and did their best to meet the full wish of the most listening and impressible of audiences (even more so than the audiences of simply musical occasions), for never, so all thought, did they play better, if so well; that is, with a spirit carrying the music home so, whatever little technical imperfections there might be.

And so the great day came, the most beautiful and brilliant of the winter. Nature and the heavens smiled, and all the omens were with us. The Proclamation was a certainty, and so was our concert. The programme, after all the threatenings, stood intact; and only the shadow of a doubt remained that it would go through well. . . . . Every piece in it is good music, in the highest sense of Art; yet every piece was sure (as it then proved) to interest an earnest miscellaneous audience, however large, and make its poetic adaptation to the occasion felt. Those, who asked for a mingling of what is not good music with what is; those, who thought there could not be a patriotic utterance or celebration without "National Airs," "tunes that everybody sings," "Star-Spangled Banner," "Glory, Hallelujah," and what not, forgot their wish as the grand music carried them along, and were in too much ecstacy to think of it when it was over. The appeal in this case was from Philip sober to Philip drunk. It was a triumphant practical demonstration that the highest, under proper circumstances, speaks to *all*; that great Art, great music, like the air, the sunlight and all finest blessings, is, or is to be, the common boon of Man; and that the artist, who most trusts his public, instead of stooping to it, shall surely be rewarded. The "Hail Columbias" and "John Browns" are all well in their way and in their proper places; but they have no right in an artistic programme, any more than cabbages and turnips in a bouquet of flowers. They will be all, or nothing; so will Art. And now for our narrative in course; for criticism it was no time; who could remember to be critical?

At the appointed hour of three Mr. Conductor Zerrahn tapped upon his desk and brought the orchestra to their bearings, as if to attack the overture. This was but a feint. Attention thus secured, Mr. Josiah Quincy, Jr., in behalf of the Committee, came forward and announced that a Prologue had been written by Ralph Waldo Emerson, who would himself recite it. This was not in the bills; the Committee, making a virtue of necessity, had kept it back for a surprise. The truth is, our poet, while he wished and strove to do it, feeling the imperative splendor of the opportunity, was far too true a poet and too much upon his honor with the Muse, to compromise her name by any rash announcement without authority of her own sign manual, to wit the actual "arrival of the poem"; in spirit heartily he said yes, but it was only for the Muse, the inscrutably capricious, better knowing one, to say yes in fact. At the eleventh hour, however, poet and poem (say rather poem and poet) did "arrive," to crown the other omens with completeness. It was a hymn of Liberty and Justice, wild and strong, and musical and very short, and in his rich tones spell-bound the great assembly.*

1. The "Egmont" overture then began in earnest, and went through at a heat; a fiery, heroic, patriotic thing, in the right temper for the times, suggesting gloom, oppression, popular division, fear and murmurs, the struggle and the triumph of the right, the vision of liberty and country to the dying hero, crowning him with laurel.

2. Then came voices. The extract from the "Hymn of Praise" conveyed, by its words, the keynote of the occasion and of the whole musical correspondence of the programme. But this was the critical piece, which had to be risked almost without rehearsal, and which had to be done as it were by faith, being the least familiar and most difficult, and full of delicate points requiring nice agreement between voice and orchestra, especially in the "watchman" recitative, so full of *tremolo* accompaniments, pauses, and wild, startling replies of wind instruments to the anxious, almost agonized inquiries: "Will the night soon pass?" But it was known, that if it did not actually break down, the magnificent dramatic climax of the music, and its wonderful adaptation to the occasion, would be sure to tell upon the audience, and it did. Mr. Kreissmann, who had the most to risk, did his part artistically and feelingly; and when the clear soprano voice of Miss Houston, like a stream of sunshine, announced "The night is departing!" the audience were in raptures, and the glorious *crescendo* of the chorus, flooding the world with daylight, in spite of feeble enterings in some parts, carried all before it in a blaze of high-pitched harmonies and trumpets. Thenceforth all was safe.

3. The Beethoven Concerto was also well adapted by the heroic temper of the themes in the Allegro, the heavenly peace of the Adagio, and the joyous sunshine of the Rondo finale. It is one of the richest and finest of Beethoven's works, crowded with thoughts, and so full of exquisite traits of orchestral treatment, and trying passages for the pianist, that it is no child's play to follow it. Considering the fact, too, that it was new to most, and that a good half of the audience were not particularly musical, it was really a wonder to note the breathless, reverent attention with which *all* listened through so complex and so long a work. Mr. Dresel gave a masterly interpretation of its beauties, so far as the principal instrument was concerned; nothing, indeed, of fire, precision, delicate shading, vital and poetic touch was wanting; and he was well-supported by the orchestra, whose parts abound in points of delicacy, which, considering that they had but one rehearsal, is great praise.

Between the parts the news that the proclamation had been issued, was announced from the stage, when there arose such a demonstration of uncontainable enthusiasm, such cheers and waving of handkerchiefs, and throwing up of hats, as was scarcely ever seen in an assembly of so much character and culture. It lasted many minutes, when cheers were called for and given with a will and with a ring, first for the President, the typical man of the nation, and then for Mr. Garrison, the typical man of the emancipation cause. Mr. Quincy also read aloud the New Year's greeting of Gen. Saxton to the colored freedmen of Port Royal, which was as good as a proclamation, and when the enthusiasm had given all the vent it could to itself in its own way, it subsided into a silent call again for music.

4. Dr. Holmes had written a new verse to his "Army Hymn," namely the fifth, to give it point for the occasion, as well as to fit it to Mr. Dresel's musical form, which covers two verses. The melody, nobly sung by Mr. Kreissmann, is very simple and impressive, and the refrain in chorus lifts one up by its full tide of broad, rich, noble harmony. It was at once accepted as a true tune, and a repetition was insisted on.

5. There is no need to apologize for the introduction of the Fifth Symphony, nor to point out how gloriously it sums up and typifies all phases of the struggle and the triumph of the good instincts of the soul over the powers of fate and darkness. That Symphony is too well known among us, and every one has felt its meaning—felt it more than ever upon this occasion, for which indeed it would seem to have waited. Did not the bronze Beethoven almost look alive and radiant to hear it, as much as to say: Yes, this is what I meant! The orchestra played it with remarkable spirit, as if they too felt the meaning.

6. The soothing Angel chorus from "Elijah," full of heavenly trust, fell like a sweet, gentle rain, after the exciting Symphony. And in the Hallelujah Chorus, the joy and praise and confidence of the occasion reached their climax, and the festival its virtual close.

7. But a bright, patriotic, popular strain, a lively recreation piece, was needed still to let the enthusiasm down and let the audience disperse; and for that what could be better fitted than the beautiful, the brilliant overture to "Tell"? The cool, placid, Swiss lake scene of its opening, with the violoncellos, puts its smart, secular conclusion far enough away from the "Hallelujah," and it is all good music, it is heroic, it expresses one phase of the thoughts and feelings of that day.

This concert will be long remembered. It will become an anniversary. Whether regarded as a patriotic celebration, or as a strictly musical occasion, it has called forth more spontaneous expressions of delight than any festival that most of us remember.

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* See Standard of last week for this Hymn.

Heavenly Visitants.—We need not doubt the fact that angels whose home is heaven visit our earth and bear a part in our transactions; and we have good reason to believe, that, if we obtain admission into heaven, we shall still have opportunity, not only to return to earth, but to view the operation of God in distant spheres, and be his ministers in other worlds. —*Channing.*

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

SWEET LIBERTY.

BY GEORGE W. BUNGAY.

We hear the sweep of wings!
In the crisp atmosphere
The bell of freedom swings!
How clear its music rings!
Sweet liberty is here.

Ye murmuring streams that flow,
Pulsing from lake to sea,
Ye wandering winds that blow,
Let the chained bondmen know
That they henceforth are free.

Ye lightnings, swiftly ply!
Flash freedom in the stroke!
Ye thunders, shake the sky,
For God is passing by
To break the Nation's yoke.

Men harnessed for the fight,
Upon the land and sea,
Brave men who dare do right,
With heart and voice unite
In songs of Jubilee.

THE FORTUNES OF FLAX.

This has been called an age of revivals. We have had revivals in the Church and in the theatre, in fashions and in arts. The hoops of our great-grandmothers have been resumed, and if one may believe certain rumors from across the Channel, powder and patches are not far off. Gothic architecture, not merely in its ecclesiastical, but in its secular forms, has returned to favor. Many of the lost secrets of the dyer, glass-stainer, enameller and fresco-painter have been recovered, and those crafts and mysteries have again become popular. Indeed, to such an extent has revivalism been carried, that a learned French gentleman, M. Fournier, has written several volumes to prove that everything worth saying, doing, or finding out, has been said, done, or found out already; and that, in short, the so-called "novelties" of modern days are only a series of grand, unconscious plagiarisms from the past.

However this may be, it is probable that we are about to witness the revival of an ancient industry which belongs both to agriculture and to manufactures. It is evident that among other sources of relief to which our textile manufactures must turn in the present crisis, is the production of flax. Once upon a time, of course, the plant was cultivated in almost every part of the kingdom, and home-spun linen entered largely into the clothing of the people; but during the last century, it declined before the growing supremacy of cotton. The manufacturers thought it was easier and more profitable to devote themselves to cotton; and the farmers, engrossed with the cultivation of cereals, and the breeding of stock, lent a willing ear to calumnies upon poor flax. An agricultural prejudice against it, as old as the *Georgics*, gained strength. The farmers, one and all, declared that it was too exhaustive a crop, and that if they once admitted it upon their acres, it would be years before the soil recovered its productive powers. In farm-leases, the cultivation of flax was often placed under a positive ban, which, however, the tenant felt no desire to transgress. Another drawback to the cultivation of the plant was, that before it could be taken to market it had to pass through certain preliminary stages of manufacture, which once formed one of the regular employments of the farm, but were found to be unprofitable when handicraft was brought into competition with machinery. Under these various discouragements, flax has fallen into neglect in the United Kingdom; and even in these days of railway travelling, when the most home-biding amongst us makes at least his two or three journeys a year through the country, ninety-nine men out of a hundred have never set eyes on a field of flax—the prettiest of crops, a waving mass of bright green leaves and bright blue flowers, growing about as high as wheat.

The agricultural objection to flax, science, which nowadays governs the farm no less than the factory, has disposed of. It has been lately shown that if the crop has been of a peculiarly exhaustive nature, it has been only because the farmer, having no machinery for crushing the seed, allowed it to rot with the plant, instead of converting it into cake for the cattle, and thus returning it to the land. The water, too, in which flax has been soaked is good for manure; and cattle are passionately fond, not only of linseed itself, but of the grass on which the flax has been laid out. The cultivation of flax certainly offers the temptation of a large profit. An outlay of from £10 to £14 per acre will yield a net profit of from £3 to £10, and even £15. The seed is of value as well as the stalk. At present, it forms one of our chief imports; and Hull, its chief port of entry into England, is spreading its bounds, and building large new docks on the strength of the trade.

Under the pressure of the cotton famine, the manufacturing objection to flax is also subsiding. A very sensible saw, which is to be found in the proverbial philosophy of nearly every nation, tells us, that when we cannot get what we want, we must do with what we have. Just now, we are at a sad loss for cotton; and as that is, for the time at any rate, out of our reach, we must inquire whether no substitute can be found for it. There is flax, for instance—we can grow the plant on our own soil if we choose. Europe produces it in abundance. Cannot flax be made to serve instead of cotton? Just now, this question is a very urgent one, but it is by no means new. In the middle of the last century, efforts were made in this country to prepare flax so as to resemble cotton; and Lady Moira, an enthusiastic supporter of the scheme, got some of the flax-cotton, as it was called, woven into stuff for waistcoats and petticoats. The weavers, however, had a prejudice against the material; and it was only as a great favor, and in very small quantities, that her ladyship prevailed on them to use it. Thirty years later, similar experiments were made in Austria and Prussia, not merely with flax, but with tow, and it is said that they were successful. It does not appear, however, that the process survived the experimental stage. In the beginning of this century, the capabilities of flax were much discussed in France. The First Napoleon, with his keen, practical eye, fully appreciated the importance of the question, and offered a reward of a million francs for the discovery of a method by which flax might be spun as fine as cotton. One Philippe Girard of Vaucluse solved the problem just as the Empire was tottering to its fall. His claim for the reward came before the government of the Restoration, which, with short-sighted shabbiness, refused to fulfil the decree, offering, however, a loan of some 7,000 or 8,000 francs to carry out the invention. Indignant at such treatment, Girard quitted his country, and settling in Poland, established a cotton-mill, which prospered so well, that in time a little village (now called Girardon) rose around it. Among other *idées Napoliennes* which the present Emperor of the French has fulfilled has been the payment of compensation to the family of Girard.

Of late years, a number of other ingenious persons have devoted themselves to the subject of flax. Conspicuous amongst these, on account of the excellence of his invention, and the misfortunes of his career, is the Chevalier Claussen. His sad story has lately been made public. Having received a high scientific education, Claussen at an early age conceived a strong predilection for the study of applied chemistry, and devoted himself especially to those branches connected with the manufacture of textile fabrics. After years of patient, earnest labor, and innumerable experiments, he arrived at the conclusion that "the fibre of flax, if rightly manipulated, is superior to cotton for all purposes for which the latter is employed, and therefore ought to supersede it, as well on this account as being an indigenous plant, for the supply of which Europe might remain independent of serf or slave." In order to render the flax fit for use in this way, he devised a very ingenious and effectual process, of which we shall speak presently. First of all, he brought the matter under the notice of the Danish government (he being a Dane by birth), and next he went with his scheme to the French government. From the one he received the red ribbon of the Legion of Honor; from the other, the empty title of Chevalier. Both were profuse enough in promises for the future; but as Claussen was in want of something more substantial and immediate, he came to England. The Great Exhibition of 1851 was then the wonder and admiration of the world; and the enthusiastic young Dane was confident that in the temple of industry, to which the genius of all lands had been invited to contribute, and to which visitors from every nation were thronging, his invention would meet with due appreciation. He exhibited specimens of flax-cotton in a manufactured condition, which were highly commended; and when he explained the processes by which he derived such beautiful materials from the straw of the flax plant, they were pronounced by competent persons to be of a thoroughly practical character. A company was formed, under a parliamentary title, to work the patent. Nearly £50,000 was expended in efforts to develop it, but the manufacturers were shy and apathetic. Cotton was cheap and plentiful. The supply had continued down to that time, and it was idle to think about its being interrupted. When cotton grew scarce, it would be time enough to consider to what account flax could be turned. Such was the argument of the spinners. So the company gave up the enterprise in despair. Claussen had received a certain sum in cash, when his patent was first taken up, but the royalty to which he was entitled upon the flax-cotton manufactured by the company proved a mere Will-of-the-wisp. Poor and heart-sick, the unfortunate Chevalier strove to better his fortune in America, but soon after was brought back to England in an unsound state of mind, and consigned to a madhouse. In that dismal asylum, we understand, he still remains.

And now a word as to the process of manufacture. The stalk of the plant consists of a wooden core, called the shove or boon, and an external fibre; and the difficulty has always been to divorce these two substances so as to leave the latter sound, soft and lengthy. The old method of accomplishing this was by "retting," that is, steeping the stalks in stagnant ponds, or spreading them over meadows, so as to expose them to the action of the dew and rain. The decomposition thus produced dissolved the glutinous matter which bound together the core and the fibre, and left them free to separate when the wooden-bladed "skutcher" was applied. This process, howeder was tedious, uncertain and imperfect. Several modern substitutes for, or modifications of, the "retting" system have been proposed. Mr. R. B. Schenck discovered that a large percentage of fibre may be obtained in good condition, and with great certainty, by steeping the stalks in water heated artificially to the temperature required to produce fermentation. The Chevalier Claussen gets rid of the core and the gum by soaking the flax in a series of chemical solutions and repeated maceration. He thus produces a substance called "fibrilia" or flax cotton, which presents a close resemblance to cotton, and can be woven with wool into stuffs of superior quality. Only a very slight alteration in the cotton-machinery is said to be necessary in order to work this new material, and under present circumstances it is surely worth a trial. What is now wanted is, that some enterprising manufacturers should adapt their mills to the spinning of flax, and that depots should be established in flax-growing districts for the reception and preparation of the fibre.—*Chambers's Journal.*

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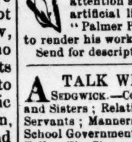

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